

The Nation

VOL. XXXVII.—NO 955.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1883.

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The Nation.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1883.

The Week.

THERE is a disposition on the part of Republican authorities in all parts of the country to take a cheerful view of the Ohio defeat, and to say that they will come out all right next year. Some of them base their hopes on the belief that the temperance question will be less damaging to them, and others think the popular mistrust of the Democrats will be their party's salvation. Mr. Halstead expresses the latter view tersely when he declares his belief that "when the people are jammed tight up to the question of trusting the general Government to the Democratic party they will say 'no' again." There is always risk in trusting to the superior wickedness of the other fellow for one's own salvation. The people have been "jammed up" to that question several times already, and have come dangerously near to taking the risk of giving the other party a chance to show what it would do. The result in several States last fall, and in Ohio this year, shows that the risk is likely to be greater than ever hereafter. The best way for the Republican party to meet it is to adopt and follow such a policy as will deprive the contest of all appearance of being a choice of evils.

Butler opened his campaign for relection with three meetings in Boston on the 10th inst., and made speeches which indicate that he accepts rather joyfully the Republican challenge to confine the issue to Butlerism. He said the people must decide for Butler or the Marshes, and dilated with even more than his usual unction upon his love for the "poorest and lowest" among the population. The most significant portion of his utterances was the frank admission that he is a candidate for a Presidential nomination. He had already said in Washington that he was convinced that there would be a formidable third-party ticket in the field next year; that the two millions of workingmen would demand a candidate. He now spoke of himself, with sufficient plainness, as just the kind of candidate likely to be wanted, by saying he was a "man capable with one hand of reaching down to the poorest and lowest and giving them help, and with the other grasping the highest prize within the gift of the people." His faith in the popularity of his own methods is apparently stronger than ever; if it were not he would be able to see that, outside of Massachusetts, he has no appreciable standing as a Presidential or any other candidate.

This open avowal of his Presidential aspirations, by the way, is having an amusing effect upon both national parties. The Democrats are curiously troubled about it, and are attempting many ingenious excuses for supporting his candidacy for Governor while opposing his designs upon their National Convention. Senator Bayard says that "while the local interests of Massachusetts may de-

mand such a leader," the national Democratic party does not, and has too many tried and true leaders to seek such a "double tongued standard-bearer as Ben Butler." Among Republicans there is a natural willingness to see Butler wax strong enough to capture the Democratic nomination next year, and the complaint comes from Boston that many of the Republican leaders in other States are so eager for this to happen that they are holding aloof from the Massachusetts canvass, regarding the sacrifice of the State for another year as of slight account compared with the great gain of having Butler as an opposing Presidential candidate. This gives Butler a unique position in national politics, and attaches an importance to his aspiration which is absurdly exaggerated. We can conceive of no circumstances under which the Democrats would be capable of the incredible folly of nominating him for the Presidency.

A curious report comes from Washington that the friends of Blaine and Conkling are making a combination for next year. Their plan is to have Blaine made the Republican candidate for President, and Conkling sent back to the Senate from New York. They declare that the "people are demanding" the return of both men to public life, and that, in accordance with their life-long practice of bowing obediently to the popular will, both are prepared to sacrifice any personal feelings they may have harbored toward each other in the past. The handsome estimate of Conkling's abilities which Blaine has put into his "history" is said to have had a most soothing effect upon the ex-Primate, and he is eager to return the favor by supporting Blaine for the Presidency. When we consider that one of these statesmen says he is happier in the practice of the law than he ever was or can hope to be in political life, and that the other has been cherishing the hope that he would be permitted to pass the remainder of his days in the peaceful occupation of historical composition, the magnitude of the sacrifice is at once apparent. We have no doubt that the country will be deeply moved by the spectacle.

The President has decided, in an Illinois case, that the appointment of internal-revenue collectors belongs to the Senators of the party in power, and, inferentially, that it is legitimate for them to use these, as well as other places, to reward workers. This, of course, is not civil-service reform, nor good Republicanism either, for the theory has been strongly condemned in Republican platforms. But it must be said in excuse for President Arthur that it is as far as the reform has yet got. The use of patronage by Senators for their own purposes has been stopped as regards the greater part of the public service. It will probably be stopped as regards the remainder in time, but not until a President has been elected who is really in earnest about the matter—that is, who has taken it up not because public opinion has forced it on him, but because he himself believes in the

necessity of it. At present the aim of most men in public life is to get along with as little civil-service reform as possible. They are dodging it, and trying to minimize it, just as they used to dodge and minimize the hostility to slavery.

The practice which has begun to be resorted to of slipping in "workers" in the grade receiving less than \$900 in the Custom-house, which is not covered by the present civil-service rules, has led the Civil Service Commission to ask the President to extend the classification so as to cover this grade also by the competitive system, and it will probably be done. It certainly needs to be done, as recent events in the Custom house here show. In fact, so widely diffused and so determined is the opposition of the old backs to the new system that apparently hardly anything can be left to their discretion in the use of the appointing power. Keeping them from the spoils is very like keeping an old toper out of the way of liquor—so numerous and ingenuous are their devices for getting some of "the hair of the dog that bit them." One of them, the Assistant Postmaster General, known as Frank Hatton, who is allowed to edit a newspaper and make the postmasters canvass for it, openly pronounces the competitive system a "fraud," and of course evades it or nullifies it in every way he can, and the President takes apparently no notice of his antics. This sullen opposition will probably last for some time, and will call for all the vigilance the friends of civil-service reform can muster.

The general trade and financial situation presents more conflicting features than usual. At the West there has been for several weeks, and is yet, a larger movement of grain and cattle to market than in the same period last year, and in some particulars even larger than in 1881, which was the year of the greatest crop on record. This has stimulated various branches of mercantile trade in that part of the country. But the great lines of industry embraced in the iron trade are still as depressed as they have been at any time in the past year. The production of both coal and iron has been in excess of the demand, which the reduction of \$1 per ton on pig-iron does not seem to improve; and though the coal trade is experiencing the usual activity incident to the beginning of cold weather, the fact that the product of the anthracite coal companies has been 2,000,000 tons (or 10 per cent.) greater in the nine months to October 1, 1883, than in the same period of 1882 without any corresponding increase of demand, is given as a reason for the probable curtailment of the production during the next three months. The railroad earnings for September were good, and showed a gain of 8 per cent. over those of September, 1882—not quite equal to the increase of mileage. Confidence in railroad property has, however, been greatly shaken. Railway stocks have declined steadily for months, and in the past

week the decline in some stocks has at times been almost panicky. Railroad bonds have been a little stronger than the stocks, but even in these, and especially in the speculative bonds, the decline has been large. Money is abundant—abnormally so for loan on collateral security, at rates lower than have ever prevailed at this season of the year. At the same time more capital is being turned out of investment in Government bonds by the repeated calls for more bonds for redemption. The call for \$15,000,000 on Saturday makes \$32,000,000 that have been called since August 12.

Mr. Knox, the Comptroller of the United States Treasury, made last week at the Bankers' Convention a suggestion which has at least the merit of novelty, and will probably be found to have others on further discussion. In view of the approaching disappearance of the United States bonds, on which the currency of the national banks is now based, and the strong probability that in the near future no State will have any outstanding bonds worth mention for this purpose, he proposes that the banks should be allowed to deposit the securities of certain foreign governments—such as English consols, French and Italian rentes, which are very certain not to be paid off within any period we need think about, and are at the same time perfectly safe and can always be disposed of in open market. The use of them, too, would save us the necessity of troublesome legislation, and remove one debatable and not easily settled question from our politics. The easiest bond to manage is, undoubtedly, somebody else's bond, if it is perfectly safe.

Western Republican Congressmen do not approve of the plan, which it is said the Comptroller of the Currency favors, of making a new bond adapted to the needs of the national banks—the Government to give a new 3 per cent. bond and \$15 in money for every 4 per cent. bond outstanding. When this plan was first mooted we were of the opinion that, although the Government would lose nothing by the operation, yet a project which would require so much explanation in order to enable common people and even common Congressmen to understand it would have small chance of adoption. Judge Payson, of Illinois, who is not a common Congressman, is said to be very earnest in his opposition to the plan. He says that "Congress will never consent to redeem any bonds at a premium." We think that he is quite right in his judgment of what Congress is likely *not to do*—all this being quite apart from the merits of the plan. Reduced to its simplest terms, the Comptroller's idea is that the interest on the proposed 3 per cents for the time they will have to run, plus the \$15 premium, will be equal to, or no greater than, the interest on the 4 per cents for the same time, while the banks will have a strong inducement to make the exchange, being able to use the premium which is now locked up in the price of the fours. This ought not to be a difficult thing to understand; but the idea of redeeming bonds at a premium is likely to be the first thing presented to the

mind of the voter, and the one so much the more readily grasped that the explanation would only become clear to him after the polls were closed.

Mr. Wharton Barker's plan for avoiding the reduction of import duties by dividing the surplus revenue among the States, so as to relieve them of the necessity of local taxation, has had such poor success that the Protectionists have been looking around for a new one, and have apparently discovered it. It appeared in the *Tribune* on Monday in the form of a reproof to stupid Protectionists, whom it accuses of blundering. The blunder is in supposing that to reduce revenue you must reduce duties, when it is as plain as the nose on your face, that you can reduce revenue still more effectively by making the duties so high as to stop importation altogether. Accordingly the *Tribune* proposes, in the form of a correction addressed to Protectionist dunderheads, that in order to cut down the revenue derived from steel blooms, for instance, we should, instead of lowering the present 45 per cent. duty, raise it to 70 per cent., under which steel blooms would yield no revenue whatever. A Protectionist who never thought of this must certainly be an unconscionable donkey, and we have not a word to say for him. But it is, nevertheless, questionable whether the country will receive with satisfaction a proposal to remedy the height of the tariff by making it higher; it is so like the plan of curing a headache by cutting off the head. Its appearance, however, at this stage in the discussion lights it up with a touch of humor, which is what the tariff discussion has always needed to make it popular.

The great Senatorial inquiry into the condition of the laboring classes has been transferred to New Hampshire, where it is now carrying on its amusing work. A Catholic priest has demanded that it investigate the quality of food furnished in boarding-houses, which is perhaps as useful a field of research as it could enter on. Considering the part that hash plays in the modern world as an article of diet, the fact that it has thus far escaped official examination, and (so far as we know) has never been reported on by any commission, parliamentary or other, reflects but little credit on modern legislation. Moreover, there are probably no places in the modern world so full of discontent of one sort or another as boarding houses, and therefore none worthier of the penetrating eye of the Congressional Committee. That the Committee will reach any useful conclusion in the matter we greatly doubt, for they are almost sure to present a majority and minority report, one backing up the boarders, and the other the landlady; but the investigation would let light into these dark places, and light is what the modern world seeks on all subjects.

A proposition to abolish contract convict labor in the State prisons is, by direction of the last Legislature, to be submitted to the voters of the State at the coming election. The success of the proposition would simply mean the condemnation of the convicts either to idleness and all its attendant corruption and

demoralization, or else to what is almost as corrupting and demoralizing, besides being disheartening—useless labor. It would, moreover, convert the prisons, which are now self-supporting, into burdens on the hard-working taxpayers of the State, who are under no obligation whatever to support an able-bodied man out of the proceeds of their industry because he has committed a crime. As might have been expected, however, the "Democratic masses" in this city are supposed to be in favor of it, and the Aldermen are making preparations for the vote by ordering the printing of 2,000,000 ballots in favor of the proposition. It behooves its opponents in both parties to see that negative ballots are also ready, so that the large body of Tammany men who every year pay visits of greater or less length to the penitentiaries may have at least one experience in their lives of the pleasures of useful industry.

At intervals of two or three years the public are surprised to find that a cash demand exists in some part of the civilized world for Confederate bonds. The price offered and paid is only a few cents on the dollar, but that any price at all should be paid for them is sufficiently astonishing to set everybody guessing what motive, or what conception of law or political economy, can lie at the bottom of so unaccountable an investment of one's money. The conundrum is answered by a letter written by one J. B. Gelder, "Secretary *pro tem.* of the Confederate States Bondholders' Committee," dated at 80 Coleman Street, London, and published in the *Herald*. The substance of it is that certain "eminent jurisconsults" in Europe have given the opinion that these bonds are a valid claim against the several States which constituted the Southern Confederacy during the war, and that the United States ought of right to repeal the prohibition embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution against the payment of this valid claim by the said States. The inclination of these States to pay the debt if all Constitutional obstacles were removed, is a missing link in Mr. Gelder's financial scheme. The suggestion that such States as Virginia and Mississippi, which openly repudiate debts contracted in time of peace, and against which no Constitutional inhibition lies, might be willing to pay off the Confederate bonds, is really humorous. The case reminds one of the Western wag whose wife had left his bed and board, and who cautioned the public by advertisement not to trust her on his account, adding that as he was not in the habit of paying his own debts, he should not trouble himself about hers.

Southern papers are beginning to protest in earnest against the homicidal tendencies of the South. The *Evening Journal* of Atlanta has from the first been active in the cause of law and order. The *News and Courier* of Charleston, S. C., one of whose editors has had the moral courage to decline a challenge, upon the ground that duelling is in every way obnoxious to him, has unwaveringly denounced the fierce life-taking disposition which Southern society develops.

The *Courier-Journal* has—not without manifold misgivings and some remarkable inconsistencies—directed its energies in the way of reform. The press of Florida has some representatives who are in no way behind these in their strenuous efforts to rid the South of the private avenger and the duellist. But the *State Chronicle*, of Raleigh, N. C., which has just come into the journalistic field, promises to be the most vigorous and effective foe of lawlessness which has yet arisen in the South. In a recent editorial, while it denies “the sweeping conclusion that is sometimes drawn, that our whole civilization is tainted with the spirit of murder,” it declares that “it is simply an unfortunate fact that too many men in peaceful and prosperous North Carolina are dying in their boots.” The *State Chronicle* is the only Southern paper that we have known to go so far as to object to the killing by an individual of one who has injured a woman’s honor. Nothing could be more excellent or timely than its appeal to the other State papers to aid in making “firearms less fashionable.” It strikes at the root of the matter, when it says to its Southern contemporaries: “When a murder is committed, a report of it and the usual regrets of the ‘unfortunate occurrence’ are not enough. Say how it happened. Call a murderer a murderer. This is the proper way to deal with them. The severe punishment of bold truth and plain language is a greater reformatory power than a hazy fear of the gallows.”

A large audience at the Academy of Music on Thursday had an opportunity of hearing one of the best of English contemporary orators—Lord Coleridge—make a very graceful speech, by way both of thanks and farewell. It is very difficult now either for an American speaker addressing an English audience, or an English speaker addressing an American audience, to say anything very new about the relations of the two countries; so that the main interest of Lord Coleridge’s speech was derived from the fact that his remarks contained the impressions of the holder of what is perhaps now, considering the dignity and security and popular respect which surround it, the greatest judicial office in the world, about the American people. He devoted himself mainly to a comparison of the courts and procedure of the two countries, and had a good word for each; declared himself in politics a Radical of the Bright school, and uttered a perfectly polite and by no means inapt warning against allowing our pride in our material growth to make us forget how much greater in all matters, social, political, and moral, is the importance of quality than that of quantity. He wound up, too, with a very appropriate snub to the now rapidly-diminishing body of English critics who think the evils of this country could be cured by a monarchy, aristocracy, and an established Church, and that any country which wants these things has only to order them at a factory.

There is still apparently the greatest doubt on the other side of the water as to who is to defend O’Donnell, in spite of the despatch of Mr. Pryor, whose arrival the *Irish World* expects to cause a terrible commotion “among

the wigs” in the British courts. The reason of this is, we presume, that the brethren over there know very well that Pryor will not be allowed to turn the court into “a hall” for a stump speech on Irish wrongs. O’Donnell’s attorney says, moreover, that he is short of money for the defence, his funds being already exhausted in gathering witnesses, and he would probably have liked Pryor’s passage money and other expenses. The story that Mr. Charles Russell, Q. C., has been retained for the defence is, we believe, untrue. In fact, neither of the reported pleas to be used for the prisoner—self-defence and insanity—needs to be supported by great forensic talent. Self-defence is a matter of fact, easily proved, if provable, and the question of insanity does not take long to settle in English courts, especially if, as so often in this country, the insanity produced is the variety which drives a man to commit a murder, but leaves him perfectly sane for all the other business of life.

The one question of importance now pending between England and France is the compensation to be made to Mr. Shaw, the Madagascan missionary, whom the late Admiral Pierre seized and kept in close confinement on board a man-of-war for two months. The amount, about \$12,000, has been, we believe, already settled. Various charges were made against him—all ridiculous, such as that he had left bottles of poisoned claret within reach of the French troops—but were successively abandoned without trial, so that what his offence really was nobody knows. His food was of the coarsest kind, and his wife was refused permission to see him. His case has naturally made a great stir in England, where what used to be called “Exeter Hall” has taken up his cause with much fervor. The best defence the French had is one which appears to be very well established, namely, that Admiral Pierre was out of his mind through the disease which soon after caused his death, when he was persecuting Shaw; but with curious perversity the press refused to adopt it. Even John Lemoine, the crack writer of the *Debats*, argues that Shaw, being a missionary, should not complain of coarse fare, because this is what missionaries ought to expect, or of being denied the society of his wife, because missionaries ought not to have wives.

Seldom has a government, in a perplexing affair of state, shown greater tact and firmness than the Hungarian Ministry has evinced in the Croatian question. M. Tisza had scarcely perceived the dangerous character of the outbreak in Agram and the Zagorie district, when he made up his mind to use unbending energy first and conciliation next. His Cabinet seems to have been a unit on the question, but the common ministry of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy had to be won over to the same policy. This achieved, the riots, which were assuming the appearance of a general revolt against the authority of the Hungarian Crown, were rapidly quelled by the unsparring use of military force, while promises of liberal concessions to the rational demands of the Croats were made to an assemblage of Croatian notables convened by the Hungarian

Premier. But these concessions had to be granted by the Diet of Buda-Pesth, which was not in session. Before its reassembling, Tisza repaired to the country of Bihar, of which he is one of the representatives, and there, at a banquet given him by his constituents, outlined his purposes in a speech of great force, in which he declared that, after having proved the determination and the power of the Government to uphold its constitutional rights and defend law and order against revolutionary uprisings, it was his determination to exhibit in this question of conflicting national rights a spirit of conciliation corresponding in degree to the energy employed in stifling rebellion, and that on this policy he staked his position both as Premier and Representative. The seriousness of the situation, which had become clear to the people, gave this announcement of the resignation of the Cabinet, in case the Ultra-Nationalists should triumph, a decisive effect, and both Houses of the reassembled Diet, as the latest despatches from Buda-Pesth tell us, hastened to sanction the Government propositions, although no less than the removal of all inscriptions in the Hungarian language from the office signs in Croatia, and the leaving of the exclusively Slavic inscriptions, was demanded.

It is a curious coincidence that, at the moment when a sudden political revolution emancipated Bulgaria from the sway of her Russian military guardians, and thus deprived the diplomacy of St. Petersburg of a main reliance in its operations in the Balkan Peninsula, a similar revolution handed over Servia, whose young King had so ostentatiously thrown himself into the arms of the Austro-German alliance, to the guidance of a parliamentary coalition decidedly friendly to Russia. The signal triumph in the late elections to the Servian Skupshina of the Opposition, led by ex Premier Ristitch, over the supporters of the pro-Austrian Pirochanatz Ministry, is an offset to the victory achieved by ex Premier Zankoff, through the action of the Assembly of Sophia, over the Cabinet headed by the Russian General Sobelev. It is almost amusing to see how far the official or semi-official organs of the Austrian and Russian Foreign Offices went in the expression of their keen feelings of uneasiness and indignation at the respective manifestations in the Peninsula of a spirit of revolt against foreign tutelage. Neither the organs of Count Kálmók nor those of M. de Giers refrained from uttering words of wrath and menace. In the former, Servia was treated almost like a vassal state of its Austro-Hungarian neighbor, which had no right to have a policy of its own, and the *Journal de Saint-Petersbourg* not only spoke of new trials to which Bulgaria was exposed by Prince Alexander’s facing about, but did not hesitate to say that “the Russian Generals had obtained the authorization of the Emperor to tender their resignations”—as if the Czar were the legal sovereign or suzerain of the Bulgarian Principality. As things stand, both Prince Alexander and King Milan may be reckoned as opponents of Russia’s policy in the Peninsula, but their peoples, the late change in Bulgaria notwithstanding, both gravitate in the Russian direction.

SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, October 10, TO TUESDAY, October 16, 1883, INCLUSIVE.]

DOMESTIC.

A DECISION was rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States on Monday in five civil rights cases, based on the first and second sections of the Civil Rights Act of March 1, 1875. They are respectively prosecutions under the act for not admitting certain colored persons to equal accommodations and privileges in inns and hotels, in railroad cars and in theatres. The Court holds that Congress had no constitutional authority to pass the sections in question under either the Thirteenth or Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The decision, however, is held to apply only to the validity of the law in the States, and not in the Territories or the District of Columbia, where the legislative power of Congress is unlimited. Justice Harlan dissented.

Full returns from the Ohio election give a Democratic majority in the State, for Governor, of about 12,000. The Legislature is Democratic on a joint ballot by about 25 votes. The Prohibition party vote in the State is estimated at from 15,000 to 20,000, and the Greenback at 2,000. The total vote was 711,681, and the vote for the prohibition amendment to the Constitution 320,454. This gives a majority against prohibition of 70,793. These figures, while not official, are nearly correct.

In Iowa the Republican plurality is about 30,000, with 57 majority in the Legislature.

In Virginia the Readjusters are much disengaged over the Republican defeat in Ohio, which they think will make it more difficult for Mahone to carry the State.

The Greenbackers of Massachusetts who have no particular faith in Governor Butler, and who hold themselves aloof from the older wing of the party, met in convention at Worcester on Tuesday to nominate a State ticket. John F. Arnold was nominated for Governor.

A consultation of leading Democrats of this State, including many editors, was held in Albany on Friday to consider the interests of the State ticket. A serenade was given to Governor Cleveland in the evening. He made a speech which was more partisan than any of his public utterances. At noon on Saturday the Republican candidates for State officers held a conference in Albany. The State of the canvass was considered and Republican success was predicted.

The Citizens' Committee of Fifty held an important meeting in this city on Friday afternoon. It was decided, on the recommendation of the Executive Council, to take an active interest in the campaign, and to make nominations for all the city and county offices. The Executive Council reported that at the most about \$45,000 would be sufficient for a most thorough canvass. On Tuesday two nominations were made for Supreme Court Judgeships, and two for Justices of the City Court. Other nominations will be made.

The Rev. S. Parsons, of Summit, has been nominated by the New Jersey Prohibitionists for Governor. He says that he will stump the State until election day.

The Secretary of the Treasury on Saturday issued a call for \$15,000,000 of 3 per cent. bonds.

Secretary Folger, after long consideration, has decided the noted Hesing whiskey compromise case by accepting without modification the offer made by Hesing.

The report of the Commissioner of Pensions, which has just been forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior, is a most complete and exhaustive review of the pension system. It will show that the number of pensions on the rolls increased from 280,000 on July 1, 1882,

to 303,000 on July 1, 1883. Of the applications on file 148,000 are for arrears of pensions; the rest, about 100,000, are for current pensions only, applications having been filed since July 1, 1880. Of the claims for arrears it is estimated that about 60 per cent. will be allowed. The average amount paid to each claimant for arrears, when the system of examination by one physician only was in vogue, was \$1,900. Now that the plan of boards of examiners has been very generally established, the average is reduced to \$1,400.

The resignation of Commissioner of Patents Marble has been accepted, and the place has been offered to Mr. Ben. Butterworth, of Ohio, who has accepted it.

Surgeon-General Charles H. Crane died at his residence in Washington on Wednesday morning, at the age of fifty-eight. He entered the army as an assistant surgeon in February, 1848. On July 3, 1882, he was promoted to the rank of Surgeon-General.

In view of the retirement of General Sherman from active duty on November 1, and the succession of Lieutenant-General Sheridan to the command of the armies, the following changes will take place: The Department of the South has been consolidated with the Department of the East, with General Hancock in command, headquarters at New York. General Schofield will take command of the Division of the Missouri, with headquarters at Chicago; and General Pope will succeed the last-named in command of the Pacific Division at San Francisco. Brigadier General Augur will succeed Major-General Pope in command of the Missouri Department, with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth. Brig. Gen. R. S. Mackenzie will succeed General Augur in command of the Department of Texas.

The first three months of the term of service of the United States Civil Service Commissioners expired on Monday. In that period twelve clerks have been appointed under the rules in the War Department, six in the Treasury, and two in the Post-office.

A loophole has been discovered in the Chinese immigration law by which Chinese have been permitted to land at San Francisco. The second article of the treaty permits any Chinaman other than a laborer to come to the United States if he be provided with a certificate issued by the Chinese Government identifying him as being engaged in other pursuits than that of a laborer. The steamer *Rio Janeiro*, which arrived at San Francisco on Saturday, brought 132 Chinamen for San Francisco, 77 of whom held tradesmen's certificates, issued by the officials of the Chinese Government. Notwithstanding the strongest external evidence of their being ignorant Chinese laborers, all but six were permitted to land. The Custom-house officers say that they have no power to go back of the Chinese Government's certificate.

Governor Eli Murray, of Utah, has made an alarming report to the Secretary of the Interior on the condition of affairs in that Territory with reference to the Mormon problem. He recommends "that it be made lawful for soldiers of the United States to be used for the execution of processes out of the courts of the United States, in the hands of the United States Marshal of Utah." As a remedy for the many evils complained of, he asks that if the Legislature elected under the Edmunds bill fail to repeal all laws passed by former Legislatures respecting the establishment of religion, and all statutes by which laws of Congress have been nullified, or to pass laws forbidding polygamy, and punishing all persons who solemnize plural marriages, and providing for neglected and deserving wives, and to recognize the sovereign authority of the United States, then that Congress shall repeal that section of the organic act establishing such a body, and assume control in the government of the Territory.

At the annual meeting of the Board of

Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund in this city on Tuesday, it was reported that the income of the fund for the current year is about \$60,000, from which an appropriation of \$20,000 has already been made, and the sum of \$16,250 has been allotted to twelve institutions in seven of the Southern States. All these institutions have undertaken to provide industrial training. Other appropriations will soon be made to the extent of the available means of the fund.

The will of the late Henry Farnam, of New Haven, gives the homestead in Hillhouse Avenue, upon the death of the widow and his son, Prof. Henry W. Farnam, to Yale College in trust, with a request that it be tenanted by the President or one or more of the professors to be designated by the President. Included in this bequest are lots adjoining the homestead. The value of the bequest is about \$200,000.

The Bankers' Convention met at Louisville, Ky., on Wednesday, and was opened by an address by President George S. Coe. On Thursday it adopted a resolution in favor of a national bankruptcy law, and also one in favor of the coinage of only so many silver dollars as the business of the country requires. L. J. Gage, of Chicago, was elected President, Mr. Coe declining a re-election.

The Congregational Council has been in session at Concord, N. H., during the week. The Secretary's report showed a net gain of 262 churches during the past three years, and of 5,079 in membership. The addition to churches by profession averaged 12,500 annually. The contributions for Sabbath-schools last year amounted to \$300,000, and for charitable objects to more than \$6,000,000.

The General Railway-Time Convention in Chicago on Thursday voted to adopt on November 18 a uniform standard-time schedule. There will be four standards for the entire country, differing by exactly one hour each.

An extensive strike of switchmen for higher wages began in St. Louis on Monday.

President Green's annual report of the Western Union Telegraph Company shows that they have 432,726 miles of wire and 12,917 offices; 40,581,177 messages were handled during the year, the receipts from which were \$19,454,902 08, against \$17,114,165 92 last year. The expenses for the year just closed were \$11,794,553 40, leaving a net profit of \$7,660,349 58, an increase of 8 per cent. over the preceding year. A Board of Directors for the new year was elected on Wednesday. There were only two changes from the old Board.

The long-pending negotiations between the Globe Telephone Company, of New York, and the Shaw Telephone Company, of Chicago, have been completed, and the Globe Company now becomes the owner of the patents for the United States formerly owned by the Shaw Company.

The taking of testimony in the Sessions bribery trial began on Wednesday afternoon at Albany, with ex-Assemblyman Bradley, who narrated the incidents of the alleged attempt of Mr. Sessions to bribe him. Mr. Bradley admitted that when he took the money, promising to vote for Depew, he did not mean to do so. His cross examination was continued on Thursday. After the testimony for the prosecution had been heard, a motion to quash the indictment was made. The Justice denied the motion on Saturday, and the testimony for the defence began.

A brilliant reception was given Lord Chief-Justice Coleridge of England at the Academy of Music, in this city, on Thursday evening, under the auspices of the State Bar Association. Elliott F. Shepard, Chief Judge William C. Ruger, and William M. Evarts made addresses. Lord Coleridge made a graceful and thoughtful response.

The Rev. Dr. Ewer, of St. Ignatius Church, in this city, died in Montreal on Wednesday morning.

A severe earthquake shock was felt at San Francisco on Wednesday morning.

FOREIGN.

The prospect of an easy settlement of the difficulty between France and Spain was disturbed on Wednesday by the impression prevailing in Madrid that France was not disposed to go further in the way of an apology for the insult to King Alfonso. It was reported that the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs had recommended that the Ambassador to France be recalled unless further reparation were granted. The other ministers opposed this step as extreme. The Foreign Minister then threatened to resign. On Wednesday evening it was known positively in Madrid that France had refused further satisfaction. Prime Minister Sagasta then considered that the moment had arrived to leave to a new Ministry the task of adopting final measures in the affair. King Alfonso accepted the resignation of Sagasta's Ministry, as they were unable to agree what course to pursue. He thereupon asked Señor Sagasta to form a new Ministry, but as the Dynastic Left did not show any disposition to come to terms with the latter, he was obliged to decline the task, and advised that it be intrusted to Señor Posada-Herrera, who, he said, would perhaps be able to effect a union of the different groups of the Liberal party. Señor Sagasta promised to support a Cabinet formed on that basis. King Alfonso then summoned Señor Posada-Herrera, who undertook the task.

The new Premier has long been prominent in Spanish politics. In 1877 he was elected President of the Chamber of Deputies. He belongs to the Progressist Moderate party, and is sixty-eight years of age. Alfonso granted the new Premier power to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, which makes him more independent than previous Premiers. Señor Camacho declined to continue as Minister of Finance in the new Cabinet, as he was reluctant to trust his projects for financial reforms to a coalition Cabinet. On Friday the Due de Fernau-Núñez, the Spanish Ambassador to France, resigned, and declared his determination to insist upon the acceptance of his resignation. In the evening, at an interview between Señor Posada-Herrera, Señor Moret, and Marshal Serrano, Señor Moret explained to Señor Posada-Herrera the conditions upon which the Dynastic Left would enter the Cabinet. A full Cabinet was announced on Saturday, with Señor Posada-Herrera as Premier, Señor Gallostra as Minister of Finance, Señor Moret as Minister of the Interior, General Lopez Dominguez as Minister of War.

It was also announced from Madrid on Saturday that the friendly assurances and cordial explanations tendered by Prime Minister Ferry had satisfied the Government. The Alfonso incident was therefore considered at an end, and the Spanish Government, with the assent of France, announced that such was the case in a circular to its representatives in other courts. The new Cabinet has been sworn. It is considered doubtful whether a majority of the members of the Cortes will unconditionally support the Cabinet, especially in its policy on the questions of universal suffrage and constitutional reform. Señor Moret's organ asserts that the aspirations of the Left will receive satisfaction in the programme of the new Ministry.

Señor Moret, the new Spanish Minister of the Interior, has requested the officers in his department not to resign, as is the usual course in a change of Ministry. He explains that the present Government seeks the co-operation and good will of all the factions of Liberalism, in order to correct abuses and to prove to the nation that the Liberals can form a compact party, and will not wreck, by divisions in their ranks, the splendid opportunity

afforded by the reconciliation of the monarchy with the democracy. Gen. Lopez-Domínguez, Minister of War, does not propose to displace any generals of the army, but if any tender their resignations they will be replaced by friends of Marshal Serrano.

In Madrid on Friday evening the anniversary of the discovery of America was celebrated with a splendid banquet and a number of speeches in the opera-house.

At the French Ministry of Marine the claims of Mr. Shaw, the English missionary who was involved in the Madagascan trouble, are considered settled. He will receive an indemnity of 60,000 francs, and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs will address to the British Foreign Office a diplomatic letter regretting the occurrence.

Prime Minister Ferry, of France, in a speech delivered at Havre on Monday, foreshadowed the withdrawal by France of the present embargo upon the importation of American bacon.

The revised estimates of the French budget show a deficit of 55,000,000 francs, which M. Tirard, Minister of Finance, proposes to cover by a reduction of governmental expenses.

The French Cabinet has adopted the proposal of Admiral Peyron, Minister of Marine and of the Colonies, to create a Superior Council for the colonies, to be composed of thirty-six members. A French Radical manifesto, signed by three members of the Senate and seven members of the Chamber of Deputies, including M. Clémenceau, M. Laisant, and Tony Revillon, has been published, urging the formation of permanent electoral committees throughout the country, to register all citizens desiring the organization of the republic by the vote of a Democratic constitution.

The Governor of Cochin China reports that he has completed an agreement with the King of Cambodia by which the latter will introduce for the future government of his kingdom a new Constitution. The agreement confirms the establishment of a French protectorate, provides liberal institutions for the people, establishes measures for the security of property, reorganizes the administrative and judicial systems, and entirely abolishes slavery.

The report that the French defeated the Chinese at Bac-ninh is unconfirmed. Lin Yang Fu, commander of the Black Flags in Tonquin, has issued challenge to the French troops to come forth from Hanoi to battle. It was reported in Hong Kong on Thursday that the Black Flags had quarreled with their allies, the Chinese regulars, in the provinces of Yunnan and Kwangsi. The Yellow Flags have disbanded, the majority joining the enemy because the French interfered with their commander. It was also reported that a Chinese Admiral with four gunboats had left Pakhoi for Lang-mun, near the Tonquin frontier, to embark most of the Chinese troops there. The Admiral will return to Canton soon with General Fang. It is supposed that the intention of massing Chinese troops on the Tonquin frontier has been abandoned.

A riot has occurred at Foochow, China, owing to the French Consul's having objected to the burial in ground adjoining the foreign concession of a Chinaman who had died from cholera. The temper of the Chinese at all the treaty ports is dangerous.

O'Donnell, the slayer of Carey, the informer, has daily interviews with his solicitor. He complains of the severity of prison discipline. Three hundred pounds have, so far, been spent in his defence by bringing witnesses from the Cape of Good Hope. The police have failed to find any evidence showing connection between O'Donnell and the Irish Invincibles. On Monday the Recorder of the Central Criminal Court, in London, charged the Grand Jury in O'Donnell's case. He said

that it would be the sworn duty of the jury to return a true bill for murder. The indictment will not be returned until Wednesday next.

At the regular fortnightly meeting of the Irish National League in Dublin on Wednesday evening it was announced that £1,000 had been received from Australia by the treasurer during the week, and also £1,000 from America.

A rumor was circulated on Wednesday that Sir Stafford Northcote had been shot and dangerously wounded in a small Irish town. The rumor proved to be unfounded.

The British Liberal Conference began its sessions at Leeds, England, on Tuesday. Mr. John Morley presided. The programme of the subjects to be considered includes the extension of the franchise, reform of the government of London and of the counties, equalization of the county and borough franchise, woman suffrage, a redistribution of seats in Parliament, and an improved registration of voters and of the methods of voting.

The Lower House of the Hungarian Diet on Wednesday, by a vote of 187 to 105, passed the resolution of Herr von Tisza, the Hungarian Prime Minister, for the settlement of the escutcheon question in Croatia. It provides that the present Croatian inscriptions be retained, and that the Hungarian and bilingual inscriptions be discontinued. This reform was carried into effect at Agram on Tuesday.

The Czar and Czarina of Russia ended their visit to Copenhagen on Thursday, and started for St. Petersburg.

During the services in a Jewish synagogue at Zivonka, in the Government of Poculis, Russia, on Saturday, a false alarm of fire was raised in the women's gallery, which caused a panic. There was a terrible crush, during which forty women were killed and thirty others injured.

The Danish polar steamer *Djungfrun* arrived on Wednesday off the island of Vardø, Norway. She got clear of the ice on August 2, but afterward lost her propeller and became ice-bound again in the Straits of Kara until September 26, when she was released.

Four hundred persons are prostrated by trichinosis in ten villages of Saxony.

The Khedive of Egypt has issued a decree granting amnesty to all persons implicated in the late rebellion except those convicted of murder and outrage.

Doctor Koch, of the German Commission which went to Egypt to investigate the cholera epidemic, reports that he has discovered that cholera is due to a living, thread-like microscopic organism resembling that seen in cases of phthisis.

Sir John Macdonald, Premier of Canada, was on Thursday convicted of bribery through agents in the Lennox Parliamentary district. It was proved that many votes were purchased in his interest.

A Durban despatch on Tuesday announced that the remnant of King Cetewayo's party, having assembled with the intention of rescuing Cetewayo from Inkankla Bush, where he had been in hiding, Chief Usibepu, whose forces had been watching the borders of the Reserve, near Babanango, South Africa, surprised them and slaughtered one-half their number. Cetewayo has surrendered to the British Resident. He will be conveyed to Natal.

A despatch from Vladivostok to St. Petersburg announces that the steamer *Kamtschatka* arrived there on Wednesday. She reports that eleven trading schooners, whose nationality is unknown, after driving off the American guardship *Leon*, belonging to the Alaska Commercial Company, stationed at the island of Tjulenij, landed sixty armed men, including some Japanese, and took possession of the island.

THE END OF THE CIVIL-RIGHTS BILL.

THE calm with which the country receives the news that the leading sections of the celebrated Civil-Rights Act of 1875 have been pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, shows how completely the extravagant expectations as well as the fierce passions of the war have died out. The Act was forced through Congress as the crowning measure of the plan of reconstructing the South on which the Republican party entered at the close of the war, and under the influence of that feeling of omnipotence with regard to the South which was the natural and unavoidable result of the prolonged exercise of the war power, and which survived the war for fully fifteen years. Some of the ablest lawyers in both houses saw its unconstitutionality clearly enough, and pointed it out; but some voted for it as a useful piece of party work, which might do good and could not possibly do any harm. What the Act directed the hotel-keepers and railroad managers and theatrical managers to do in the treatment of colored people was good in itself, and if they did it, all would be well; if they did not do it, the colored people would be no worse off than they were before the Act was passed, and the Republican party would still have the credit of doing its best to put them on a footing of complete social as well as political equality. It was as clear then as it is now to almost every candid-minded man, that the Fourteenth Amendment, on which the promoters of the Act professed to base it, was really directed against State legislation, and not against the acts of individuals. This was about as plain as words could make it, but the legal argument had little or no weight against the argument drawn from party advantage.

The reason why the Fourteenth Amendment had not given Congress power to legislate directly in defence of the social rights of the negroes in the several States was plain enough, too. It was that the Republican party, when the amendment was adopted in 1868, was occupied solely with the defence of the ordinary civil rights of the freedmen against hostile or reactionary State legislation. It was, in short, due to the fear that slavery might be succeeded, for the colored people, by a carefully prepared condition of legal inferiority, and against this the men who abolished slavery determined to guard. An amendment providing for the admission of negroes to hotels and theatres and public conveyances would not have been adopted, because the notion that the social equality of the colored people could be hastened by legislation sprang up later, when they had come more distinctly into view as citizens and property-holders, theatre-goers and travellers; but it never was strong enough to procure either the adoption of a Constitutional amendment or the passage of an act which anybody expected to be enforced. The Civil-Rights Act was really rather an admonition, or statement of moral obligation, than a legal command. Probably nine-tenths of those who voted for it knew very well that whenever it came before the Supreme Court it would be torn to pieces.

Any one who has forgotten, or is not old enough to remember, the arguments which were made to do duty in the service of the bill when it was before Congress, will find an interesting summary of them in the comments of Mr. Greener, the colored lawyer, on the late decision of the Court, in the *Evening Post* of Tuesday. As a reminiscence of ways of thinking about constitutional questions which have almost wholly passed away, they are interesting reading. It will be seen that there is very little flavor even of legality about them. They are almost all based on moral considerations with which courts of law under our system have little or nothing to do. The decision is wrong because it is likely to annoy and inconvenience the colored race. It is wrong because it disregards, in disobedience to the Constitution, certain primeval natural rights brought over here by the first settlers; because it may lead to Catholic bishops or Jewish rabbis being expelled from railroad cars; because it raises inconvenient questions of social equality; and because, coming just after the Ohio election, "it can scarcely be construed as anything else than a covert and insidious blow at the institutions of the Republican party."

What the Court has decided, we need hardly say, is simply that the Fourteenth Amendment does not authorize Congress to protect the civil rights of colored people within the States against anything but hostile State legislation; or, in other words, that the powers of Congress are defined by the Constitution, and not by considerations of humanity, or even general utility, or by the opinions or wishes of prominent politicians. Consequently, nearly all that the arguments originally produced in support of the Act, as well as those of Mr. Greener now against the Court's interpretation of it, really prove is, that the division of powers made by the Constitution between the States and the Union is not a proper one, and that the framers might have made a far better Government than the one they did make, if they had only tried.

SOME SUGGESTIONS OF THE OHIO ELECTION.

THE Republican defeat in Ohio is an unpleasant fact, both because of the encouragement it will give the Democrats throughout the country, and because it has clearly been due in a large measure to an agency which is not likely to prove merely temporary or transient—we mean the temperance question. It has been plain enough, ever since the South dropped out of politics, that the Republican party would have to husband carefully such resources as it had apart from the slavery question and the war. Foremost among these was the passion of a very large proportion of its members for what are called "moral issues." The nucleus of the party has, in fact, from the beginning consisted of men who are never satisfied in politics unless they think they are doing what is right, as well as what is expedient. Since the party ceased to meddle in Southern affairs, no provision has been made in party management for this portion of it, in which so much of its strength lies. The civil-

service reform movement in some degree, at least in the Eastern States, touched their imagination, and a proper mode of dealing with it might have done much to strengthen their declining allegiance. But the persistence of the managers in flouting and deriding it, down to the elections of last fall, had the unfortunate effect of convincing large numbers—even those who cared little about civil-service reform, but liked to take a serious view of public affairs—that the party was thoroughly controlled by triflers and jobbers. The conversion which has since occurred, however useful to the country, has unfortunately had too much the air of deathbed repentance to do the party much good. In other words, its hold on its most earnest section, to which it undoubtedly owed its prolonged possession of the Government, has been seriously weakened, without any better compensation than one can see than "two per cent. on the annual compensation" of a few office-holders.

The growth of the temperance movement in the West, and its increased and increasing force as a disturbing agency in politics, are in all probability the result of these longings for moral issues, for which many Republicans have been unable to find satisfaction within the party ranks. Strong drink is undoubtedly a fearful scourge all over the West, in even a greater degree than at the East. The towns swarm with saloons, which are a constant snare and temptation to every passer-by. There are probably very few households containing young men which are not made more or less unhappy by it, through the apprehensions of the women about husbands and sons; and there are few callings which are not thickly strewn with the wrecks it has caused. The liquor agitation has been for many years, as one might expect, trying to force its way into party politics, and has often in "off years" done the Republicans, to whom it furnishes some of their most earnest supporters, considerable damage. Hitherto, however, it has not been able to make itself felt in years when defeat was likely to prove a serious discouragement. This time, in the year before the Presidential election, it has proved strong enough to "smash things," in complete apparent indifference to consequences. It has gone so far in Ohio as to put the real party of liquor in power, simply to punish the Republicans, and has tried to saddle the State with a prohibitory amendment to the Constitution, the execution of which would undoubtedly have been attended with great difficulty and confusion. In Iowa, also, the Republicans have triumphed by a large majority, under an obligation to pass a most stringent prohibitory law, the temperance question there, apparently, dominating all others.

The proposed amendment in Ohio forbade "the manufacture of and traffic in intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage," and directed the Legislature to provide for the enforcement of the prohibition. What this would mean in practice may be inferred from the fact that there are in the State 221 distilling, brewing, or wine-making establishments, with a capital of \$13,739,230, and producing annually about \$16,000,000 worth of drink-

ables more or less intoxicating, or about one-twentieth of the total manufactures of the State. In this is not included the value of the stock of liquors on hand, in the distilleries, breweries, and saloons and taverns, because these would presumably not be destroyed by the amendment, but might be sent out of the State for sale elsewhere. But the loss to the dealers over and above their stock and fixtures, by the mere destruction of "the goodwill" of their business, would certainly exceed \$5,000,000 annually. This undoubtedly made the amendment seem a very serious matter commercially, and possibly involved a legal point which, if it has never been raised, probably will be before long, and that is the right of the State to destroy suddenly a large mass of private property without compensation.

The effect of prohibition as an irritant would have varied according to the class of the population which it reached. As a general rule, native Americans can bear having their liquor cut off with perfect calm. Few except the very rich drink anything intoxicating with their meals, differing in this in a marked degree from every other people in the world. One of the large hotels in London, we believe, now refuses accommodation to Americans, because they drink no wine at dinner, or, as English landlords express it, take nothing "for the good of the house." All foreigners, too, are surprised by the absence of bottles and decanters from the American tables d'hôte, and are puzzled by the equanimity with which what is called "the average American" washes down his food with plain ice-water. It is true that there is an enormous amount of solitary as well as social drinking at bars; but this, if a pleasure at all, is a pleasure so brief and evanescent that none but confirmed toppers would be much put out if every bar in the country were closed.

The Germans and other foreigners take a very different view of the matter. To them wine or beer with their meals seems an absolute necessity. Food without claret is to a Frenchman a cruel mockery, and so is food without beer to most Germans. There are about 394,000 foreigners in Ohio, and upon the half of these, who are probably Germans, the prohibitory blow would fall with crushing severity, for they not only take beer with their meals, but they use it as an aid to social intercourse, and as in fact an inseparable accompaniment of all their amusements. Moreover, like all the nations of Continental Europe, they have never yet understood the temperance movement. Interference on the part of the State with a man's food or drink seems to them a blow at the very foundations of personal liberty, submission to which on the part of the two great liberty-loving communities of the world—England and America—is to them perfectly incomprehensible.

The future of the liquor interest in this country must be considered greatly clouded by what has happened in Ohio and Iowa, and there could hardly be a worse time than the present for any party to propose, as Mr. Randall has done on behalf of the Democratic party, that the tariff should be saved by making whiskey free. Moreover, as far as one can see at present, we have probably witnessed the

entrance into the political arena of a new organization, with which both parties will hereafter have to count, but from which the Republican party is likely to suffer most, and which is permeated by much of the iconoclastic spirit which first made the Republican party a power. One of the great advantages the Republican party enjoyed in the beginning was that it made politics interesting and even exciting to the women. One of the greatest disadvantages under which the Democratic party has labored for the last quarter of a century, at least at the North, has been, not simply that it had nothing to attract the young men, but nothing to touch in the smallest degree the female imagination. An ardent female Democrat is something which probably nobody has seen at the North for twenty-five years, while enthusiastic female Republicans have abounded in every village. It looks now as if the Republicans were likely to suffer from having nothing in their programme which can be called interesting family reading, or which gives voters the character of defenders of a sacred cause in the eyes of their own household. It is more than ever doubtful whether any party in this country can hereafter long retain power without it.

PROHIBITORY GIFT DUTIES.

MR. GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE attempted, on his recent visit to this country, to bring with him some presents for distribution here, and, like all foreigners who have made that experiment, he lived to regret it. He has published an account of his struggles, which, in spite of its unfriendly allusions to our beloved protective system, is amusing reading. His first trouble was with a photograph of John Bright, which he brought over as a present for a Chicago friend. He found that he could get it through the Custom-house only on payment of \$6, and was naturally somewhat astonished by that fact. He recalls the graceful invitation sent a short time ago through Mr. Evarts to Mr. Bright to visit America, and remarks that under the statutes there is no provision whereby Mr. Bright's portrait can be admitted "unless the importer pays a penalty at the Custom-house for his temerity in making the offer of it."

Mr. Holyoake's greatest trouble was with a tale of books which he had consented to distribute for the Mayor of Brighton. The Mayor is very much interested in sanitary science, and had caused to be published, in a handsome volume, the proceedings of the first Congress of Health held in England. He wished to present a hundred or more of these books, together with some documents of scientific interest relating to Brighton, and likely to be of interest to the coast cities of the United States, to such American cities as would like to have them. Mr. Holyoake found that he could only get the books through the Custom-house by paying \$100, or by writing to the authorities of the cities to which he intended to make his gifts, and getting from each a letter testifying its willingness to accept. As to get such letters would have entailed a loss of much time, and an expense of room-rent and clerk-hire amounting to at least \$500, Mr. Holyoake informed the customs officers

that the books might as well be treated as the tea was in Boston Harbor. They advised him to go to Washington and consult the authorities, which he did. While there he learned that consignments of goods addressed to the Smithsonian Institute were permitted to come in free of duty, and having obtained the consent of Professor Baird to have his books distributed through the Institute, he finally got them to their destinations. He is evidently in no mood to attempt further benevolent acts of this kind. "Protection," he says, "is a good thing, I am aware, and many people need to be protected from evils known and unknown; but I was surprised to find that an intelligent country like America thought it necessary to be protected from information acquired at much cost by others, and unobtainable in that form by themselves." On being shown the clause of the law which forbids the free admission of more than two copies in one invoice of any book, map, or chart intended as a gift to a school, institution, etc., he came to the conclusion that "nothing save a minor present could be made to America, and that only by an intrepid and wealthy donor prepared to take infinite trouble to make his gift."

Mr. Holyoake is not the first foreigner who has had trouble of this kind. Mr. Richard A. Proctor wrote a letter to the *London Times* a few months ago, complaining that some "little gifts, intrinsically worth less than cost of carriage, and not including a single dutiable article," which he sent from London to friends in Missouri at Christmas time, "were kept at New York till enormous customs charges were paid." He concluded his complaint with this vigorous passage: "Consigned to St. Joseph, Mo., 1,500 miles from New York on one side, by people in England 3,000 miles away from New York on the other side, they lie there the prey of the great nation which has the eagle for its national emblem, but, judged by its customs, might much more appropriately take the raven." Of course, expressions of this kind are open to the criticism that they are of British origin, and are possibly uttered by emissaries of the Cobden Club who have been sent over here to work secretly in the interest of free trade by casting ridicule upon the protective system.

Occasionally, however, complaints are heard on this side. A short time ago an irate American wrote to the *Tribune* a moving description of the experience he had had in receiving a present which had been sent to him from Italy. The donor had sent him word that the present was coming, saying it consisted of a couple of terracotta figures, the original cost of which was only \$1. When the package arrived he was presented with a bill of \$6 for duty, freight, commission, and several other things. As he must either pay the bill or put himself in the position of declining his friend's present, he paid the charge, and on opening the package found the figures so broken as to be valueless. The Government officials knew they were broken when they made the charge, but concealed the fact until the bill was paid. When the receiver demanded reparation he was referred to the steamship company which had transported the package, and when he applied to the company he was told he must go

to the packer who had put up the goods in Italy, for the breakage was clearly due to his imperfect work. In another instance a gentleman in this city received a Christmas present of a bronze flower-dish from a friend in Germany. To get it out of the Custom-house cost him \$10, and when it was taken from the box one of the side handles was found to be broken off, making the gift practically worthless. These are only specimen instances in hundreds which happen every year. A present from abroad is really a financial misfortune from which every American has reason to pray that he may be delivered, but he has no especial excuse for complaining. He pays enormous taxes on nearly everything he wears and upon most of the things he uses, and it merely completes the symmetry of our tariff system to make him pay for his presents also.

THE REPUBLIC AND THE COALITION. PARIS, September 27, 1883.

THE journeys of sovereigns have had this year a peculiar significance: they have obviously tended to extend the sphere of influence of the German and Austrian alliance. This alliance, concluded a few years ago by Prince Bismarck, and since renewed for a longer period, has become the corner-stone of European politics. It is very different from the so-called alliance of the three Emperors which followed the war of 1870, as it is not only concluded for the preservation of peace, but also for the attainment of certain specific objects. The conversations which Prince Bismarck had at different times with foreign ministers and ambassadors on the characters and ultimate objects of the alliance, are well known in political circles. Prince Bismarck has well explained how, even on the day after Sadowa, he became anxious to spare Austria and to reserve for her a new rôle. He found great difficulties in this attempt at first, but as soon as the wounds of Austria began to heal, as soon as it became possible for him to play on the old antagonism of Russian and Austrian interests in the valley of the Danube and in the peninsula of the Balkans, he did not lose his opportunity. His journey to Vienna was the triumph of his policies. He showed the Austrian Emperor what was the "manifest destiny" of his *Oesterreich*—how Austria was the natural heir of Turkey in the East; how she seemed created in order to bring by degrees under her influence the numerous principalities which shook off the hated sovereignty of the Sultan, and to make, with the help of the Eastern populations themselves, a formidable barrier against the ambition of Russia. There are old mosaics in which the Emperor is represented on his throne, surrounded by Italia, Allemania, Austria. What is Allemania? It is modern Germany—Prussia with all her confederates. What is Austria? It is the actual Empire of the Hapsburgs; and this empire must find new confederates in Rumania, in Servia, in Bulgaria.

The King of Rumania is a Hohenzollern, a German, a man of considerable intellect. He has exchanged his title of Prince for the title of King, and, though his government is a constitutional monarchy, with two Chambers and responsible Ministers, there is no doubt that his influence is very great, especially with regard to foreign affairs. The position of Rumania is a singular one. Rumania has been looked upon by Russia as a sort of advanced position, a *tête de pont*. Before the last Eastern war, Rumania was obliged to sign a secret con-

vention, in which she gave to the Russian armies the right of passage across her territory as soon as war should have been declared with Turkey. When hostilities began, the Rumanian army became a part of the Russian army, and at Plevna the courage of the Rumanian regiments was much admired. How is it that so soon after these great events Rumania is now drawn toward Austria and depending upon the protection of the traditional enemy of Russia? It is almost needless to explain. When Russia stopped before the gates of Constantinople, she gave a proof of impotence and of incoherence which will not be forgotten for years to come. Nihilism achieved what a mistaken diplomacy had begun. The huge Russian empire appeared suddenly as a colossus with feet of clay; it is a stupendous mass, in a sort of atomic or molecular state, without any nerves, any nervous centres, any organization. Opinion always runs from one extreme to another. The strength of Russia was overestimated; now it is probably underestimated. It is said that when Prince Bismarck was still in diplomacy, whenever he left a court he had a seal made with an inscription which condensed his opinion of the country and the people he was leaving. When he left St. Petersburg, he ordered this simple word to be engraved on a seal, "Nichts." Public opinion has been recently drawn to the same conclusion; and it is curious to notice the casual coincidence of this word "Nichts" and Nihilism.

If there was anywhere a prince who owed everything to Russia, it was Prince Milano, who has also recently expanded into a King Milano, but he too has forgotten the old services of his protectors, and has tried to become a *persona grata* at Vienna. Bulgaria is the creature of Russia. We all remember how the last war began with the "Bulgarian atrocities." Russia, while she stipulated hardly anything for herself, assured the independence of Bulgaria, and Europe found a sovereign for the new principality in the person of Prince Alexander of Battenberg. We hear now that he likewise wishes to show his independence, and to take a place in the pleiad of Balkan principalities which are to form a sort of vanguard of Austria. It was easy to foresee that the dismemberment of Turkey would end in the formation of small states which would oscillate between Russia and Austria. The pendulum is now on the Austrian side. Austria herself has taken possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina; she is looking on Adrianople, and she is drawn, almost perforce, toward the Aegean Sea. Turkey can no longer stop the movement of disintegration which is taking place. She is bankrupt; almost all her taxes are in the hands of European receivers. The Mohammedans will gradually give way before the Christians.

The Austro-German alliance has not only been fortified by the gradual attraction of the principalities of the Balkans and of the Valley of the Danube—Ity has been allowed to join it. The King of Italy does not exactly go *pari passu* with the two Emperors, but Italy has bound herself to them by a regular treaty; all the eventualities of the future have been examined, and a common course of action has been adopted. The King of Italy has become Colonel of an Austrian regiment, and is called the Austrian Colonel in the radical papers of Rome. The policy of Italy has been determined by the Tunisian war and the semi-annexation of Tunis to French Algeria. A French professor has lately published a book under the title 'L'Italie qu'en voit pas,'* in which he makes citations from the geographical text-books used in

the Italian schools. The Italian boys are taught that the natural boundaries of Italy take in Savoy and Nice, and even Corsica. The Irredentists do not speak much at present of the Trentino, or of Trieste; Italy is looking in other directions, and she has joined the fortunes of the Powers whom she thinks the strongest and the most capable of doing something for their friends. The *rapprochement* of the Italian policy and the Austro-German policy has not produced a great political crisis in Italy; the Left is still in power; but the Conservatives have gained in influence, and their voice is again becoming heard. The Italians are wonderfully flexible; they understood at once that a sort of monarchical solidarity required a more conservative policy at home.

What is exactly the character of this monarchical solidarity? It is not yet to be compared to the famous Holy Alliance formerly made against Bonaparte and the principles of the French Revolution; but the monarchs of Europe seem to draw nearer together—they put themselves on the defensive. They dare not attack by deeds, nor even by words, the new French Republic; but it seems as if this Republic, placed in the mid-t of Europe, made them a little uneasy. France will always have an extraordinary power, which will extend far beyond her frontiers: her stage, her novels, her fashions, her sociability, the attractions which she presents to the foreigner—everything contributes to make France (and France in one sense is Paris) a focus which radiates in all directions. It was the policy of Germany to favor the establishment of the Republic in France. Without being too Machiavellian, Prince Bismarck probably thought that a French Republic could not be a dangerous Power; but there are many ways of being dangerous. He expected, perhaps, to see the French democracy using up its strength in vain and endless divisions, but even he did not understand the terrible force of centralization. All the machinery of the state, which extends even to the smallest village, works quietly and irresistibly for the Republic, just as it did for the Second Empire. Cabinets may change, the administrations continue their work. The Republic may have its Mexican expeditions, may throw great classes of the population into a state of despair, may persecute the congregations, may remove six hundred judges from the bench, may dilapidate the resources of the country; on goes the old engine of centralization, and everything is as quiet as if the country was living under an absolute ruler. Not a peasant thinks of transgressing the military laws, or of refusing his taxes. Nothing can stop the great current; the country is obedient, quiet, peaceful, but ready for all the sacrifices of war, if these sacrifices be asked. This is not the kind of republic which Europe expected. Very few statesmen, even among the most experienced, really understood the forces which universal suffrage creates, and which create a power all the more irresistible that it is (so to speak) anonymous. The sovereigns, led by a sort of instinct of preservation, begin to see, even better than their ministers, that the continuation of a republic which, with all its mistakes and faults, is prosperous, and does not attack the foundations of property, must become in the end a sort of *reductio ad absurdum* of the monarchical system.

We see the young King of Spain now joining the charmed circle of the Kings and Emperors. A short time ago a military pronunciamiento was made in Spain, directed against the monarchical form of government, and republican in its tendency. The young King had already promised to go to Berlin and to witness the great manœuvres of the German army. He left his own country before the mystery of the pronuncia-

* See the *Nation*, No. 930.

miento had been well explained, and paid his visit to the Emperor of Germany. He comes back as colonel of a regiment of Uhlans garrisoned in Strassburg. It has always been the fashion in the German, Russian, and English Courts to interchange colonelcies of regiments. The Kings of the two Sicilies and the Dukes of Parma and Modena accepted colonelcies from Austria at the time when Italy was under the Austrian régime. But Alfonso II. is the first King of Spain who has consented to become colonel in a foreign army. No French Prince under the Bourbons or the Orléans was ever allowed to command, nominally, foreign troops. The acceptance by Alfonso of Spain of the colonelcy of Utlans has given great offence in Paris, and the Radicals threaten to make a demonstration at the entrance of the young King into Paris or during his short stay in the French capital. Nothing could be more unfortunate, for any offence against the King of Spain, on a futile pretext, would only tend to change the monarchical *rapprochement* into a real coalition.

I have shown the various forces which seem to be slowly uniting. It remains to be seen, first, if there are not counter-forces which are beginning to come into action, and, secondly, what is the real *objectif*, as military men are accustomed to say, of the monarchical union. Who is the enemy in view? Is it France? Is it Russia? Or is the union directed against both France and Russia? This problem deserves a close examination.

FROM LONDON TO AMSTERDAM.—II.

PARIS, September 6, 1883

In the summer at all events the ride from Ghent to Antwerp is of the dustiest and most disagreeable. The few historic places on the way do not count at all. But Antwerp once in view, one's spirits rise. This indeed is really the only way to approach the fine Flemish capital. From the other side of the Scheldt only does one get a just view of the city, the matchless spire of its cathedral rising high above its neighborhood of picturesque roofs across the broad river, which with its multifarious craft has so often been painted by Clays, and which makes the approach from the Ghent side seem not a little like New York seen from a ferryboat leaving the Weehawken dock. Only with us there is no spire which, *pace* Mr. Upjohn's admirers, Charles V. would have wished encased in glass, or Napoleon compared to Mechlin lace; and, admitting Mr. Quartley as a satisfactory substitute for Clays, the country with us does not—in so far as man has had to do with it—lie so ready-made to the painter's hand. The Antwerp spire is the last thing of Belgium one sees in passing through to Holland; on a second visit at least, of all Belgian things it leaves the most durable impression on the mental retina when once the border is crossed and one feels that he has left the entire category to which it belongs for good and all behind him. And, on a second visit, one misses this deplorably, and one's sensations are in consequence very nearly doleful.

Could an obtuse traveller's ingratitudo go further? any one may demand who chooses, and I shall not complain. But it is to be remembered that Holland is *par excellence* the country of first impressions. In that respect it is like everything unique—like Venice, for example. Nowhere else, not even in Venice, does one experience the delight of mere novelty more keenly than on entering Holland for the first time. The landscape is astonishing, no matter how many descriptions one may have read of its wide, incredible flatness, dotted with scores and even hundreds of wind-mills; with sleek

black and white cattle and shaggy horses; with long, low white houses, half-hidden in clumps of busby light-green trees; large sloops and schooners mysteriously wafted to and fro on invisible canals; the immense expanse of sky full of infinite cloud variety, shadows sweeping quickly across the foreground, rain falling in one corner, square miles of yellow grain swaying in the distance, the very essence of light and air everywhere—in a word, the concrete inspiration of Ruisdael and Van Goyen. Everything is intensely characteristic. The lack of compromise in this respect—that is, the absence of even the hint of what elsewhere constitutes "scenery," in England, in Italy, in Switzerland, in Catalonia, in Provence—is so positive and complete as to be singularly stimulant and refreshing. One can understand the rise and excellence of the Dutch landscape school: its excellence when its rivals were Claude and Salvator Rosa, and its superiority at the present day, with a competition indigenus to the Rhine valley and "Saxon Switzerland" on the one hand, and the succession to Corot and Rousseau, now wholly given over to the literal, or the other. The "values" of the landscape are so subtle, its elements so few and simple, and its "effects" so delicate, so clear, and so unconventional, that the painter of it has but to copy well to succeed; the qualities of skill and fidelity here take the place of the imagination elsewhere and serve as well.

Could one praise a country more highly? But one feels all this in its acuteness only once, and, as I said, Holland revisited does not at all produce the same effect. There was a reason after all, one reflects, for the unpatriotic self expatriation of Both and Berghem and Swaneevelt. They did not succeed too well, to be sure: European galleries in fact are strewn with their "Italian" failures. But undoubtedly they felt, in their indigenous landscape, the same lack that is felt by the returning traveller whose enthusiasm has had time to cool, and who dejectedly realizes that of all countries it is especially true of Holland that it can be seen once only for the first time. It is as fresh, as clear, as green and gray as ever, the vessels are sailing down through the fields, the horizon is as low as before, and there are the same 180 degrees of marvellous clouds, but one no sooner crosses the Hollandsch Deep than he wonders how it is that now for the first time he appreciates the distinct and definitive lack of *charm*. It is all picturesque enough, if you will, but picturesque by paradox, picturesque because it is unfamiliar, unexampled, novel, unique; because there are no conventional standards of measurement and admiration in the negative result of involuntary contrast. At length all that clear and fresh green and gray becomes almost defiantly prim and prosaic. This time you perceive that you were mistaken a twelvemonth ago in preferring good prose to even mediocre poetry; and that the latter has at least a superior atmosphere, an atmosphere more or less impregnated with charm.

The prosaic note is everywhere. Belgium is a flat enough country north of Antwerp, and it may seem to the inexperienced as if the transition could hardly be noticeable. But aside from the visible fact that every feature which the two countries possess in common is rapidly accentuated as one moves northward, the way in which a people impresses its characteristics upon even general landscape physiognomy is nowhere better illustrated than on either side of this boundary. The difference between the Flemish and Dutch temperaments will hardly be gainsaid, certainly since the war of separation. In two hours one exchanges a Catholic country for a Protestant, and the difference is immense. For the direct fostering influence which the

Catholic church has had on the fine arts there is, to my notion, less than nothing to be said. But it is hardly disputable that indirectly it has been almost a condition of their existence in the modern world. Charging itself exclusively with the consciences of its members, and arranging for these the grand affair of conduct which has absorbed so much Protestant mental activity since the time of Huss, it has indubitably left untrammeled to expand to their utmost the natural energies of its devotees. Can anything more dismal be imagined than the interior of a Dutch church—for example, the Nieuwe Kerk at Amsterdam, justly termed by the guide book "one of the finest churches in Holland"? Amsterdam itself bears the appellation of "Venice of the North," and it would be ridiculous to assert that it is not an interesting city: it is thoroughly imbued with a kind of prim picturesqueness, full of novelty and features exclusively characteristic, full, too, of that most interesting of all civic characteristics, a varied, actual, modern life, of which indeed Venice, at last feeling the pulsations of united Italy, is only beginning to manifest the signs after its long chrysalis existence as a subject for Mr. Ruskin's threnodies and a museum for his peregrinating pupils. In fact, to a reflecting observer—that is, to the modern observer, the observer to whom the most ethereal flights of fine art appeal in virtue of their illustration of the human mind and spirit instead of as sentimental ministrations to the fancy—the contrast between Venice and Amsterdam in this respect has many points in favor of the northern capital; and a city one-fourth of whose inhabitants are paupers does not in many ways look as well (to say nothing of total impression) as one where more or less equally distributed prosperity reigns. Here also, however, one's liking for the Dutch quality is born of contrast rather than positive; and in fifty years (or more, or less), when the new steamers on the Grand Canal are twice as numerous and twice as well stocked with passengers; when the Giroconti Pubblichi become a real instead of a nominal resort, and the Lido as popular as Coney Island; when the Riva gives tokens of a visibly profitable commerce, and every steamer between the city and the Giudecca does not load from Southampton or Trieste; when the crumbling Gothic monuments shall have been definitively restored, and a score of Tintoretos and Titians rescued from the oblivion of damp crypts and gloomy tawdry altars, it will be only with an ironical intention if Amsterdam is still called the "Venice of the North." For this trim, characteristic, and prosperous city has an enormous point of difference from Venice as it is: it lacks charm, and no one needs to be told that Venice is saturated with charm, that it is charm quite as much as being built on piles that renders her unique.

At Amsterdam there is not even taste. It is curious that with us the recently popular architecture, based exclusively on taste and defiance of both the Gothic principle of decorative construction and the Classic theory of felicitous proportions with decorative detail, should have taken Amsterdam as its model; for I suppose Mr. Norman Shaw himself would admit the Dutch origin of his so-called "Queen Anne." A city built of black brick with white or pale yellow (generally wood) "trimmings" illustrates "taste" chiefly from the undertaker's point of view. The inevitable gables provided with block and tackle, for the excellent reason that in a city built on made land the attic must take the place of the cellar as a storehouse (is it not singular that this gable should have become the main feature of "Queen Anne" architecture in a "dry land"?), have a cumulative effect that is the very antithesis of taste. If there is a bit of

stained glass or a church fresco in all Holland, it is not in Amsterdam; there are instead tall clocks and so-called "picturesque," that is, whimsical, domestic furniture. The "Dam" is a fine square, and the Kalverstraat an interesting thoroughfare, but the buildings on the one, notably the Palace, are the last word in clumsiness, and the shop-windows on the other are eloquent of the national genius for the heavy and the awkward; one would not find such shoes in Sixth Avenue, such cutlery in the Bowery, such *articles de vertu* in the Piazza di San Marco, such "insincerity" as well as ineffective workmanship in Naples. Yet I have heard the Kalverstraat compared to the Palais Royal. That great attraction, too, of Latin cities (whence the very word urbanity), whose want is supplied in Germany by good nature and in Belgium by geniality—I mean a general and evident amenity—is conspicuous by its absence. Amsterdam is remarkable for the number and excellent management of its charitable institutions, and perhaps this is why there is no overflow, no unorganized surplus of human feeling wasted in the general movement of life in the cafés and along the sidewalks. If you desire to be directed any whither, a casual informant takes the utmost pains to set you right; you are well enough served in the restaurants; officials everywhere discharge their functions in your regard with minute fidelity; but you must have no vague demands to make on the people in general; your needs must be concrete and definitely expressed. You must have no sentimentality to be wounded if fat burghers and dames in metal and lace headdresses crowd you off the little sidewalks, almost upset you in a rush for the tramways, step on your feet when once within, stare at and talk about you at the same time. I remember being forced into the gutter of the Kalverstraat, in company with a lady with whom I was walking, by a couple of officers, one of whom turned, in answer to my look of meek protest, and raised his hat with a curious expression which said plainly, "Ah, yes, you are strangers; you are not used to our ways; you seem to expect street amenity. I am an officer; I ought to have indulged you." And his uniform! The Dutch women's headdresses are pleasing—any survival of old costume jostling the monotony of modern attire is pleasing; but the spectacle obtained by the conjunction of Dutch physiognomy with Dutch taste, civil or military, in the detail of official dress, is grotesque. Fancy a convention of New England deacons dressed as the military contingent in a burlesque.

What gives Amsterdam its paramount and permanent interest is, however, not the fact that it is "the Venice of the North," but its collections of Dutch pictures. There are five Rembrants everywhere from Vienna to Madrid; there are lovely De Hooghes in London and Paris; Paul Potter's "Bull" is at the Hague; Franz Hals is at his best in Haarlem; Hobbema is as good in London, and Van der Heest in Florence and New York, where he is at any rate not fatiguing; but nowhere is the Dutch school in its entirety presented so splendidly as Amsterdam presents it in the Rijks Museum, the Museum Van der Hoop, and the collection of Heer Six in the Heengraacht. Every one knows that "The Night Watch" and "The Syndics" and the Six portraits are at Amsterdam, and I am not going to abuse the reader's patience by prating of Rembrandt, nor even to yield to the temptation to confute the many sceptics who maintain that in mellowing the general tone he begged the question of flesh-painting, by insisting little on that miracle of moist pink and white blondeness, the portrait of Anna Six. The visitor ought to be reminded, however, that to neglect the splendid

collection of the master's etchings which is to be seen for the asking at the Rijks Museum, is to lose not only a pleasure, but what is necessary for a complete induction in Rembrandt's case. And I should like to call his particular attention to the perfection to which that most interesting and sympathetic of Rembrandt's followers, Nicholas Maes, brought the expression of his single theme, and to a marvellous figure piece by Van der Meer, of Delft, in the Six collection, which for beauty and grace adjoined to perfect reality might be taken as an epitome of the best that Dutch *genre* affords. As to the De Hooghes in the Van der Hoop Museum, one will only be at a loss to determine his preferences among the four—to decide which one he would exchange for that one in the London National Galiery which has an open-air vista, in order to have the four finest De Hooghes in the world.

Little professional as Fromentin was, and universal as in general his perceptions are, I wish that he had been less a painter in speaking of Pieter De Hooghe, so that he might not have failed to distinguish him from Metzuan and Terburg, who have in common with the former nothing but the identity of a superb technic, and no spiritual relationship whatever. Did any one ever mistake an interior by De Hooghe for one by Terburg or Metzuan, or indeed by any painter but himself? His rivals have the same technical *cachet*, if you choose, though the difference in personal force makes itself felt even here, but this difference is the main thing, and it is immense; it is the difference between Raphael and Fra Bartolommeo, between Claude and Turner, between—to make a fanciful digression—Reims and Cologne. There is no term for it more definite than spiritual distinction, but that is a quality which however vague is very palpable, and—as one could have said before Ruskin's abuse of the epithet—very precious. What is it but this that endues with such serene charm the little out-of-doors scene in the Van der Hoop Museum? Its elements are those of the simplest *bourgeois* idyl: a low red-brick house with white wooden pilasters and bright red tiled roof; to the left is a fence, across the top of which inclines a bushy little tree, in whose shade on the hither side sit and stand a group of three persons sipping some drink or other; nearer the house and to the right a sturdy woman bends over a barrel, and beyond, still further to the right, is a fence with an open door disclosing a vista of trees and distance tempered light. The sky is as rich as Dupré would have his, and the color would be resplendent but for the mellow tone arrived at by that observance of "values" which so delights Fromentin; every detail tranquilly transpires "after noon." Contrast with this fusion of poetry and science, of delicate sentiment and consummate skill, the most ambitious of Mr. Alma-Tadema's compositions, or even the most successful effort of Mr. Tadema's master, the late Baron Leyen!

But we can cool our enthusiasm equally well by a visit to the International Exposition, which also can very well wait another letter.

W. C. B.

Correspondence.

THE "RESOLUTIONS OF '98."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your review of Mr. George Ticknor Curtis's "Life of James Buchanan," as contained in No. 952 of the *Nation*, it is said that "the Kentucky resolutions of 1798 had become the favorite form of expression among all the Southern extremists, because their phraseology was the most explicit and clear as to the alleged con-

stitutional right of secession." And the phrase cited as being explicit and clear to this effect is the clause they contain affirming that, in cases of alleged violation of the Constitution, the several States are "*the judges, not only of the infractions, but of the mode and measure of redress.*" The reviewer expresses the opinion that "no subtlety of sophism has ever been able to rid these words of the whole sweeping doctrine of the disunionists, that, they themselves being the judges of cause, necessity, and policy of secession, the States had each and all the constitutional right to leave the Union when they pleased, and that, once having acted, they were as independent of the Union as if they had never joined it."

The reviewer discriminates clearly enough between the original meaning of these resolutions, as conceived by their authors and supporters at the time of their adoption, and the subsequent construction put upon them by the latter-day disunionists; but I think his language leaves the impression on the mind of the reader that these resolutions do really contain, and were meant to contain, "the whole sweeping doctrine of the disunionists." As my studies in the political history of 1798 have led me to believe that it is only by "the subtlety of sophism" that "the whole sweeping doctrine of the disunionists" was ever deduced from either the Kentucky or the Virginia resolutions of that date, I crave permission to give my reasons for holding this opinion.

Everybody knows that the so called Kentucky and Virginia "resolutions of '98" originated in a plan of political agitation concerted by the Republican leaders of that day for the purpose of creating a public opinion against the alien and sedition laws. Mr. Jefferson has explained to us that these politicians, finding themselves "browbeaten by a bold and overwhelming majority" of the Federalists in Congress, determined "to retire from that field and take a stand in the State Legislatures" (see Jefferson's "Complete Works," vol. vii., p. 229).

Pursuant to this plan, Jefferson wrote a series of resolutions defining the position of the Republicans as to those two laws in particular, and as to the principles of constitutional limitation in general. He sent a copy to Mr. Madison, for purposes of mutual advice and consultation, and another copy to Colonel George Nicholas, with a view to their introduction by him into the Legislature of Kentucky. As Colonel Nicholas was not a member of the Kentucky Legislature at that time, he handed the series to Mr. John Breckinridge, by whom the resolutions were submitted to that body. They were passed through both houses with only a few dissenting votes, but not until they had undergone very important modifications, as can be seen by comparing them with the original draft of Mr. Jefferson (Jefferson's "Works," vol. ix., p. 464). And by comparing a letter of Mr. Jefferson's to Mr. Madison, under date of November 17, 1798, with another letter on the same subject to Mr. Wilson C. Nicholas, under date of September 5, 1799, the reader will understand the reason why the language of Mr. Jefferson's first draft was toned down in the passage of the resolutions through the Kentucky Legislature (Jefferson's "Works," vol. iv., p. 258, and p. 305).

The Virginia resolutions of 1798 were penned by Mr. Madison in Room No. 9, as a well-authenticated tradition asserts, of the old Swan Tavern of Richmond, the "Republican headquarters" of that city. But as Mr. Madison was not a member of the Virginia Legislature of that year, he handed the series to John Taylor, of Caroline County, by whom they were carried through the House of Delegates after a spirited debate, of which we still have the record.

The Federalists of that day, both in Virginia and elsewhere, contended that this whole mode of attack on the two statutes in question was misdirected, and that, in its tendency, it was disorganizing and seditious so far as it impugned the constitutionality of a Federal law in the name of a State; that laws of Congress obnoxious to public censure could be properly and constitutionally opposed in only one or all of the three following ways: (1) by petition for their repeal; (2) by resort to the Federal courts for redress; or (3) by popular initiative in each Congressional district or State, looking to the election of Federal legislators disposed to vote for the repeal of the statutes in question.

The Republicans maintained, on the other hand, that while these three remedies were entirely right and proper as far as they went, they did not exhaust the modes and measures of redress which were otherwise open to the people under the Constitution; that besides them it was competent for a State Legislature (1) to pass resolutions solemnly remonstrating against laws believed to involve an infraction of the Constitution; (2) to instruct its Senators and request its Representatives in Congress to vote for the repeal of such laws; (3) to invite its sister States to coöperate in these efforts to arrest unconstitutional proceedings; (4) to interpose for the arrest of dangerous infractions by inviting its sister States to join in the call for a national convention to revise the Constitution in parts where it had been broken or was found to be weak; and (5) to interpose for the arrest of dangerous infractions by communicating with its sister States in the hope of inducing two thirds of all the Representatives of the States in Congress to propose amendments which should meet the exigencies of a given situation.

To recapitulate: The Federalists suggested three modes and measures of redress. The Republicans specified five other modes and measures of redress, cutting deeper into the heart of a complication without running the knife outside of the Constitution, and two of these modes looking to that radical measure of redress which requires the joint action of three-fourths of the States, which are certainly "parties to the compact" whenever new constitutional engagements are formed. I have merely summarized these eight modes from the debates of the Federalists and Republicans on the passage of these resolutions through the Virginia House of Delegates.

Having thus got the historical bearings of this question, we are now in a position to understand what the Kentucky resolutions of '98 import on their face, and what they were meant to import when they say that each State, considered as an integral party to the Constitution, has an equal right with all its sister States "*to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress*" which will suffice to meet the demands of a given emergency. It can take its choice among eight modes, all equally within the Constitution; and that the "redress" contemplated by the Kentucky resolutions of '98, whether considered in its "mode" or its "measure," was to be pursued "*in a constitutional manner*" is expressly affirmed by the kindred resolution of '99, when the protest of the preceding year was reiterated in still more trenchant language.

And we are now in a position to understand what this resolution of '99 imports when it says that "*a nullification by those sovereigns [the States] of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument [the Constitution] is the rightful remedy*." All idea of force or of revolution or of disunion must here be eliminated from the meaning of the word "nullification"; for no other "nullification" is admissible under the express terms of the resolution than such as can

be effected "*in a constitutional manner*." Those who recall how swiftly the case of *Chisholm v. Georgia*, because of the alarm which it spread among the States, led to the adoption of the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution, will see at least one way in which dangerous principles, even when they have passed the final ordeal of the Supreme Court, can still be "nullified" "*in a constitutional manner*. The South Carolina politicians afterward gave a bad name to the word "nullification," but they first purloined the word and then debased it. On this point I need but cite Mr. Madison's well known letter to Mr. Everett, written in the year 1830.

And we are now, too, in a position to understand what Mr. Madison meant when he wrote, in the Virginia resolutions of '98, that "*in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the compact [the Constitution], the States who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them*." They are to "interpose" in such a "mode" and in such a "measure" as shall meet the requirements of each crisis, extending even to a reconstruction of the Constitution, should it be necessary. But nothing extra-constitutional and nothing outside of the Union was here intended if Mr. Madison understood the purport of his own language.

And finally we are now in a position to understand how it was that these same Republican leaders of '98 and '99 did but act in simple consistency with their professed principles when they stigmatized secession as "treason." This they did on a notable occasion in the same old Swan Tavern in which the resolutions of '98 had been permed, and only ten years after those resolutions had been promulgated. The occasion was a public banquet then and there given to the Electoral College of Virginia, to celebrate the elevation of Mr. Madison to the Presidency. It was in the month of December, 1808, when the disunion agitation of that day, growing out of opposition to the Embargo Act, was at its height in New England, and was so ripe as well as so notorious that a prominent Federalist of Maryland, Mr. A. C. Hanson, could write even two years afterward to Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, that in his opinion "*if the question was barely stirred in New England, some of the States would drop off from the Union like fruit rotten ripe*." (See Henry Adams, 'New England Federalism,' p. 382.) As the Electoral College was then in session in Richmond, and as the leading dignitaries of the Republican party were then assembled to celebrate the renewed triumph of their principles, they seized the opportunity to put themselves on record against the new-fangled doctrine of "secession." The quadrennial banquet of the Electoral College was not a merely casual and festive entertainment in Virginia—it was a Virginia "institution" down to the year 1830, the favorite time and place for enunciating political policies and opinions before the country, especially during the continuous period of twenty four years when the President of the United States was a Virginian. And so on the 8th of December, 1808, among the "regular toasts" provided for the political demonstration of that year, we find the following: "*The Union of the States: the majority must govern: it is treason to secede*." (See *Richmond Enquirer*, December 10, 1808.) Among the men who drank to that sentiment were the members of the Electoral College, the Madison Corresponding Committee, who had conducted the canvass, the Governor of the State, the President of the State Senate, and many other distinguished Virginians—

all stanch supporters of the "resolutions of '98." I find it difficult to conceive that these gentlemen could have drunk to that toast with a decent respect for themselves or for the opinion of their countrymen if they had supposed that those resolutions, whether of the Kentucky or Virginia Legislature, lent any color of pretext to the pernicious dogma of "secession." Whatever else may be said of these men; it has not been common to hold them as merry Andrews and fools, but it is not easy to defend their reput for sobriety and common sense if they committed themselves consciously or unconsciously to the doctrine of secession in 1798, and then ten years afterward denounced it as "treason."

I find, on recurring to the contemporaneous political literature of that day, that the Republicans of Kentucky, equally with the Republicans of Virginia, protested that their resolutions were mere expressions of opinion, designed to be accompanied with no other effect than such as they might produce by exciting reflection and leading to corresponding constitutional action. And while the opponents of the resolutions deprecated the same being of *evil tendency*, because they might possibly lead to the disaffection of the laws in question before they had been repealed, it was nowhere charged by anybody, so far as I can discover, that the resolutions contained, either implicitly or explicitly, the dogmas of "secession" and "nullification," as afterward attempted to be read between their lines by a new race of Southern politicians.

JAMES C. WELLING.

WASHINGTON, October 5, 1883.

[Our correspondent takes no issue with us upon the points actually made in the review, which bore solely upon the doctrines of the disunionists of the Calhoun school, under whose lead the great rebellion occurred. The question, What was the intention of the original framers of the resolutions of '98? is a quite distinct one; but while it was not within the scope of our discussion of the political career of Buchanan, we still think the considerations urged by Mr. Welling do not free the Kentucky resolutions from the meaning which the later disunionists gave them.

The action of the Virginia politicians does not affect the question materially, for the distinction between the two sets of resolutions was notorious. The influence of Madison had kept out of those of Virginia the explicit and treacherous radicalism of those of Kentucky. Yet even then some things must not be forgotten. Taylor, of Caroline County, who introduced the resolutions, had in the same year brought forward a proposition looking to the secession of Virginia and North Carolina, and the formation of a separate confederacy by them. Jefferson's original propositions were such that Madison could not accept them, and greatly modified them in the form introduced by Taylor. The action at the Swan Tavern in 1808, when the embargo was straining the attachment of New England to the Union, only proves how easy it has always been for politicians to change front when their devices have "returned to plague the inventor." Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, and New York, by action of their Legislatures, all denounced the secessionism of the resolutions of '98, interpreting them in the same sense in which they were understood in 1860.

In the original draft of the Kentucky reso-

lutions, to which our correspondent refers, was one which was in substance the nullification resolution of 1799. It "resolved" that when the general Government assumes powers "which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the rightful remedy; that every State has a natural right, in cases not within the compact (*casus non federis*) to nullify of their own authority all assumptions of powers by others within their limits." There is no real dispute that prudence alone suppressed this resolution in the Kentucky series of 1798, and the following year it was passed, making the whole complete again. The resolution of 1799 was the reply of the anti-Federalists to the indignation which their former resolutions had excited. The distinguished author of the resolutions had acquiesced in temporizing so far as immediate action was concerned. His letter to Madison of November 17, 1798 (Jefferson's 'Works' iv., p. 25), had said: "I enclose you a draft of the Kentucky resolutions. I think we shall distinctly affirm all the principles they contain, so as to hold to that ground in future, and leave the matter in such a train as that we may not be committed absolutely to push the matter to extremities, and yet may be free to push as far as events will render prudent."

If, as Mr. Welling argues, the only intent of the resolutions had been to agitate on lines wholly within the Constitution, the resolutions took a strange way of expressing it. There had been no dispute about the right to do every one of the five things which he enumerates. The real question was quite beyond these: Could a State, regarded as a separate sovereignty, an original party to a compact, nullify that agreement, or laws passed by the Federal Government under it, *without* securing repeal either through Congressional action or Constitutional amendment? The resolutions are utterly empty of meaning if they did not refer to this. Their own language is the most conclusive reply to Mr. Welling's argument. Let us read again the text of the one which we did not take space to quote in full in our review. It said: "Whenever the general Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are *unauthoritative, void, and of no force*; that to this compact [the Constitution] each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party; that this Government, created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress."—ED. NATION.]

THEORETICAL ENGLISH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR: In your article on "Theoretical English" (October 11) are one or two references to the reluctance of Germans to accept any help whatever in their English studies from Americans. They prefer to dispense with all assistance, but ours seems to them nearly worthless. Now, their belief that Englishmen know the language better than we do is natural; most of us would rather study German in Hanover than in Penn-

sylvania. But the belief is a good deal stronger than it would be had our English cousins not taken such extraordinary measures to strengthen it. I lately brought from England a small dictionary, German and English, given me by a German friend long resident there. It was published in Germany in 1861, and is based upon a larger work, both being evidently of English origin. Notice is given that "Americanisms" are italicized, and since a very few of the italicized words and phrases are marked as vulgarisms, the student's inference must be that the rest pass in America for good English. Under the letter "A," in the English-German part, I find *absquatulate, all-fired, almost, argufy* (which it appears that even we know to be a vulgarism), *ay* (for "either"), *awfully* (in the sense of "extraordinarily"), and many others. Elsewhere a brief inspection supplies me with such specimens of "theoretical American" as *flusteration, to flunkify* (to alarm), *nimshi* (an awkward fellow), *plaguy, savagerous, yourn*, etc., etc.

It is unnecessary to say that only two or three of these words are recognized by American lexicographers, even as vulgarisms, and quite as many are as much English as they are American. Of course the work in question gives as Americanisms some which are really such—forms originating here without necessity, or in violation of English analogy, and used by some respectable writers. Many more, however, are words or meanings which we have been compelled to coin in order to represent new objects or ideas. These are our legitimate contribution to the common stock, and are fast becoming everywhere current. Out of seventy-three examples of Yankee-English, however, taken from this small dictionary twenty-four are not to be found in Webster's great one, fifteen are traceable to England, and only nine are recognized by Webster as peculiar to this country. On the last point, indeed, an American can hardly be the final authority; but, if he cannot be good authority about the language in general, then so much the worse for large numbers of Englishmen. On the shelves of the small library, less than forty miles from London, in which I made most of the above-mentioned discoveries about my native *patois*, stood an English edition of Webster's "Unabridged," while on the drawing-room table lay an English pocket edition of Worcester.

I cannot close a letter complaining of a grievance without saying that I brought home, along with this exasperating volume, a heightened admiration for England, and the most grateful and affectionate recollections of Englishmen. A.

ENDOWMENT FOR BIOLOGICAL RESEARCH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR: In your number for this week you notice Professor Lankester's address on the endowment of biological research. His lamentations over the want of pecuniary assistance to science in England are certainly only too well-founded, but his statements and comparisons have a still more emphatic lesson for Americans to learn, because America does far less for biology than England. If, then, England needs \$10,000,000 for the adequate endowment of biology alone, how much more pressing is the necessity for an equal sum for the same purpose in the United States, with twice the population of England. Counting physiology, anatomy, pathology, botany, and zoölogy each separately, I cannot make out a list of quite a dozen American biological institutes of active research, and on that list appears the Johns Hopkins laboratory of physiology as the only one which can be said to be both ade-

quately organized and endowed. We must, therefore, look to the future, and turn our hopes not toward the central Government, but toward private munificence. The prosperity of biology in America depends upon the liberality of our wealthy citizens; we cannot appeal to the national treasury as Professor Lankester asks for English public funds, for such an appeal is contrary to all our traditions.

It would be possible now to found an institution for the prosecution of biological research which would be invaluable to the progress of science. With an income of thirty or forty thousand dollars an institute could be carried on which would contribute more to the increase of biological knowledge than is now contributed by all the institutions of the country collectively, excepting perhaps the national organizations. This may seem an exaggeration, but mature deliberation has convinced me that this assertion is far within the bounds of a reasonable estimate, provided that the money be spent in salaries for a corps of workers hired solely to investigate, and in the purchase of apparatus and materials for research, and that no money is required to be spent in building or in maintaining a museum. Each worker would then perform his allotted work, employing his highest faculties; no ability would be wasted or overtaxed; the career of discovery would be assured, because there are immense fields of possible knowledge which may be mastered by intelligence and perseverance. The great discoverer's cannot be promised, because there is no guarantee for genius. Such an institution would in a few years confer vast benefits on mankind and bring honor to the country. It is an ideal which I have thus hinted at; should the plan ever be actually executed, it still would be ideal. All must hope to see American science develop until it may be compared with European science without any longer awakening our shame. I share with others the faith that the time is not far distant when this will be accomplished.

BIOLOGIST.

October 13, 1883.

CONCERNING PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR: In England, I understand, the question is still asked, Who reads an American book? In this country, the query is put, in somewhat similar spirit, Who reads a pub. doc.? This is a pertinent and suggestive inquiry.

Unlike any other publisher, the Government looks for no returns in the book business. It is not obliged to take the merchantable quality of its publications into consideration. The issues of the public press are not in the open market until they reach the second-hand bookstores by the usual devious channels. The typical public document is an official "report," of a purely perfunctory character, which may or may not possess any public interest. It is usually prepared in the routine of a public desk to satisfy the ordinary requirements of official machinery. The question whether these requirements could be as well fulfilled by the manuscript report without printing it, is seldom answered, or even asked. Its publication being provided for by law, it is accordingly published, and the final cause of its existence is accomplished when it issues from the public press. A requisition has been properly filled, some tons of books have been duly delivered, and "that job is done."

All except being paid for. The money, of course, comes out of the appropriation, and the contracting officials settle their accounts in due form, finally closing the whole transaction according to law. But the appropriation for printing is drawn from the public funds, and

this is but another name for the people's money. It is the people who pay for the publication at last, and they have to pay for it whether they want it or not. At this stage of the proceedings the Government has placed itself in the position of a publisher who has got up a book by involuntary subscription, and which he may, if he chooses, deliver to some of his subscribers by a method of his own devising, commonly known as the "distribution of public documents." It is true that he sells out his stock at cost; but that is his affair; and everybody knows plenty of books that nobody would have, at cost or at any other price.

The Government has manufactured many a ton of books which it has sold to its subscribers at its own price, and which its subscribers have forthwith sold for what they could get in the paper-mill market—the contents of the same being a profound mystery outside the circle of the faithful and laborious Government proof-readers. It is the old story of the button and the button-hole. The Government button-hole, in books as in many other fabrics, possesses the quality of elasticity to such magical degree that every Government button fits it exactly. Here is the button-hole, in the shape of a certain requisition for printing; and here is the button, in the shape of the required report, which must fit, for it has been "ordered by Congress" to do so. Some buttons, however, are so constituted that they obstinately refuse to fit any imaginable button hole, giving rise to the natural question, What is the use of sewing them on?

It is the buttons of this kind which have so often made misfits of the literary garments of the Government that the public document has been brought into very general disesteem. The vast majority of the books which have issued from the public press are absolutely unknown to the people at large, who have paid for them. "Their names are never heard"; and, on the whole, it is perhaps best that they should await in peace the fate which reduces them to the pulp from which they came. Bearing the Government imprint are also many more books, unfortunately better known, whose names are never mentioned but with derision—books which furnish the never-failing occasion for staple cheap jokes about their whole furnishing, from the nature of their contents up to the quality of the paste with which the covers are stuck on. But these are likewise bought and paid for by the people.

It is not pretended that many publications of no obvious public utility are not both necessary and proper cogs in the machinery of government, nor that the proper authorities in each department are not necessarily the judges of what is required in a given case. If, for instance, they want to issue what are virtually nothing but advertisements, it may be sound business policy to do so, as long as the appropriation holds out. But it should never be forgotten whose money is being spent.—Very truly yours,

ELLIOTT COUES.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6, 1883.

Notes.

PROFESSOR BAIRD'S Smithsonian Report for 1881 has just been printed. In addition to the report proper, this volume serves the function of a scientific annual in its summary reviews, by various experts, of the year's progress in astronomy, chemistry, botany, meteorology, physics, zoölogy, and anthropology; while the appendix is still further enriched with miscellaneous papers on the last mentioned topic (American aboriginal, wholly), and by a history of the Smithsonian exchanges.

'A Sylvan City' (Fords, Howard & Hulbert) consists of fifteen papers, of a magazine lightness, all relating to Philadelphia, and all derived from *Our Continent*, in which they originally appeared. Some of them, perhaps many (six are from one hand), were written by those not to the manner born, and the defects of superficiality are superadded. However, for popular reading too much must not be exacted, and these sketches of Penn, of Franklin, of Girard, of the early churches, the libraries, the post-office, the old houses, the hospitals and medical schools, etc., have a readability and a connection which justify the experiment of binding them up together. The illustrations were certainly worth repeating.

After the publication in October of his 'Old-World Idylls,' which, as we have already announced, is substantially identical with the American edition of 'Vignettes in Rhyme,' Mr. Austin Dobson will begin to collect his later poems, to be published sometime next year under the alluring title, 'At the Sign of the Lye.'

A new edition of 'Plato's Best Thoughts, compiled from Professor Jowett's Translation,' by Professor Bulley, of Howard University (Charles Scribner's Sons), gives proof of two facts: first, of the popularity of Professor Jowett's translation, and, secondly, of the continually increasing interest in the writings of Plato, to which we lately called attention in our note on Professor Campbell's edition of the 'Theætetus.' The present volume contains about one fifth of Plato's works. The extracts are arranged alphabetically according to subjects, commencing with "Ability and strength, difference between," and ending with "Zeal, right or wrong." Quite frequently an extract seems to us to be placed under an unsuitable head; but this defect, if it exists, is almost entirely remedied by the great abundance of cross-references. With the aid of these the reader can hardly fail to get a good idea of the best that Plato has said upon almost every subject mentioned. Books of "extracts" and "beauties" are necessarily fragmentary, and in most cases unsatisfactory and tiresome. Professor Bulley has on the whole done his work with judgment and taste, and his compilation will prove interesting to most persons whose thoughts sometimes rise above dollars and dimes. What the classical scholar will perhaps miss most is the ineffable grace with which Plato, in the opening passages of his dialogues, introduces the interlocutors to the reader, and the skill and vividness with which he pictures the external circumstances which led to the discussion. In the dialogues of Plato more than anywhere else one gets a clear idea of the manners of cultured and refined Athenian gentlemen in their intercourse with each other. However, no one can read a few pages of this book without afterward turning over their contents in his mind; and this in itself is a great good.

It is seldom that we feel called upon to express unqualified approbation of a text-book for schools; but Mr. Robert P. Kepp's edition of 'The Iliad of Homer, Books I.-VI.' (Boston: John Allyn) leaves so little room for fault-finding that we shall not attempt any. Facing the title-page is a beautiful facsimile of a page of the Codex Venetus A (13x10 inches), the most important MS. of the 'Iliad.' The introduction gives a very good summary of the results of the investigations of modern scholars as to the origin and mode of transmission of the Homeric poems; and, though necessarily brief, it will yet inform the student of what many quite recent text books of the 'Iliad' do not, that there is such a thing as "the Homeric question," and impart some idea of its nature and the different answers which have been given to it. The sec-

tions on the structure and scansion of Homeric verse, on the dialect of Homer, and the commentary generally show a nice appreciation of what student needs and ought to have. Altogether, the book is very handsome and very scholarly, and we have no doubt will prove very useful. Its material, make-up, and general appearance are a credit to the publisher.

Two reports by Prof. H. W. S. Cleveland, of Chicago, on possible park improvements in Providence, R. I., and in Minneapolis are full of suggestiveness and value for the residents and municipal authorities of other cities also. In Providence, Mr. Cleveland's treatment of "the Cove" would remove a source of danger by diverting sewage from that basin; while in Minneapolis his proposed boulevards he expressly urges as a protection against fire. Any one familiar with the localities in question must approve the main features of Mr. Cleveland's solution of what, in Providence at least, is a tolerably complex problem.

"The Folk-Lore of Yucatan" forms the subject of an interesting paper by Dr. D. G. Brinton in the *Folk-Lore Journal* for August. The native imagination revels in a singular variety of supernatural and malevolent beings, conspicuous among whom are the not impetuous Balams, or gods of the cardinal points and of the winds and rains that proceed from them.

To match the series of delightful little volumes in which Mr. David Douglas, of Edinburgh, has presented to the British public will in time be a complete edition of Mr. Howells's writings. Macmillan & Co. announce an 18mo edition of Mr. Henry James's novels and tales, to be contained in fourteen volumes, of which the 'Portrait of a Lady' will fill three, 'Roderick Hudson' and the 'American' two each, 'Wasterton Square,' 'Confidence,' and the 'Europeans' one each, while the remaining volumes contain the shorter stories, 'Daisy Miller,' the 'International Episode,' the 'Siege of London,' the 'Madonna of the Future,' etc.

Uniform with the Breakfast Table series of Dr. Holmes and with the tales and travels of Mr. Howells, Mr. Douglas has issued Miss Howard's 'One Summer' Mr. Burroughs's 'Winter Sunshine,' Mr. Stockton's 'Rudder Grange,' and Mr. Cable's 'Old Creole Days.' To these he will add at once Mr. Cable's 'Madame Delphine,' Mr. Burroughs's 'Locusts and Wild Honey,' Mr. Curtis's 'Prue and I,' and two other volumes not yet announced in America. Mr. Stockton's 'The Lady or the Tiger, with other Stories,' and Mr. Joel Chandler Harris's 'Mingo and Other Stories.' Altogether, this collection of American authors is one which Americans may contemplate with satisfaction. They are all published by arrangement with the authors.

Mr. Julian Hawthorne's 'Fortune's Fool' is published in London by Chatto & Windus; and as his other tales are included in the series of "Piccadilly Novels" issued by this firm, Mr. Hawthorne bids fair, like Mr. James and Mr. Howells, to have an English edition of his works.

The Paris daily newspaper, *Le Temps*, is now publishing, as a serial in its *feuilleton*, translations of stories by Mr. John Habberton, under the general title "Chez les Yankees."

The latest of M. Jules Charette's contributions to the entertaining little series of "Célébrités Contemporaines" are brief biographies of the late Jules Sandeau; of M. Paul Derouëde, the fiery patriotic poet of *la revanche*; of M. Ludovic Halévy; of M. François Coppée, the poet of modern life in Paris; and of M. Édouard Pailleron, the happy author of "Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie," who is about to be received into the French Academy, to which he was elected by the votes of some of those whom he was supposed to have satirized in that very lively and suc-

cessful comedy. The portraits, which accompany every biography, have greatly improved of late; the facsimiles of MS. are interesting at all times.

Polybiblion for September begins a bibliography of the Comte de Chambord, or of Chambordism, as we might say, bringing it down to 1889. It promises to be sufficiently voluminous.

An interesting discovery is reported from Munich. The bookseller Karl Fr. Meyer, in cataloguing the library that formerly belonged to the Carthusian monastery at Buxheim, found two leaves of a manuscript written upon parchment serving as fly-leaves to an early-printed book. On examination they turned out to be fragments of 'King Rother,' written toward the end of the thirteenth century. There are about 400 lines, belonging to a part of the poem of which hitherto only one manuscript was known. The newly-found text differs considerably from its predecessor, the Hidelberg manuscript, furnishing not merely various readings, but some new lines, and also omitting some.

—A manual or text-book upon the "Science of Food," on a plan drawn up by the late Sir Henry Cole, of the South Kensington Museum, has just been compiled by his eldest daughter, who presents herself to the public under the initials of L. M. C. The little volume is a model of clever arrangement and happy selection. It gives us chapters on food and its composition; food, its nutritive value; food and its functions; food and its selection; and provides further a series of questions on these vital subjects, somewhat similar to those set by the British Home Government in the "Food" branch of its teachings in Domestic Economy. Miss Cole has compiled her work from the best sources of information in the English language. Professor Huxley, Charles Darwin, Sir H. Thompson, and sundry physiologists lend their authority, and various official journals, guides, and inventories are quoted; while on the specially interesting subject of "Food and its selection," or, in plainer terms, "marketing," Miss Cole has called to her aid five first class West End tradesmen of London (their names are immortalized in the preface), dealing in fish and venison, butchers' meat, poultry and game, butter and cheese, and greengrocery. The text-book will repay careful reading; but there is an addendum on teaching cookery in schools, by the Rev. Newton Price, which we commend to the disciples, scattered far and wide, of Miss Parlon, Miss J. Corson, and other ladies concerned in advancing our culinary education, and causing "every day cookery" to be added to the curriculum of our public seminaries. "In the Watford Health School, the time for dinner is half-past twelve, when about ten persons sit down to the meal—the teacher, the cooks, the cleaners, and as many more as are required to furnish the table with guests. Each child who dines pays two pence (four cents)! The teacher is expected to provide dinners the cost of which will not exceed three pence per head (six cents), and, as a matter of fact, for eight years this rate has never been exceeded." The trifling "loss on food" during the year did not quite reach \$24, for which, with the \$45 returned in dinner fees, 1,174 dinners were provided.

—The compulsory deposition of books in the National Library rests in France upon a different basis from the American. The Library of Congress receives one copy to serve as a proof of the publication of the book, and another copy as in a way a testimony of gratitude to the Government for maintaining the copyright. In France it is based on the necessity of police surveillance of literature. M. Georges Picot has

written a pamphlet in which he proposes a third and better foundation for the practice so much complained of by publishers—the principle of the preservation of literary monuments and of scientific utility. *Polybiblion* points out that there are certain questions to be considered which M. Picot has not touched upon. Must everything printed be deposited? The number will be enormous. If not everything, who shall weed out the unnecessary part? Shall only what is published be deposited, or everything that is printed? If the latter, what is to be done when only one copy is printed? *Polybiblion* proposes to except *bilboquets*, which we suppose to mean circulars, advertisements, billheads, commercial cards—matter that is neither literature nor science; and to claim the three copies from the author, giving him a right to collect them gratis from the publisher. The author, it thinks, for his own fame, now and with posterity, and from his desire to be useful in the world, would be much more likely to attend scrupulously to the deposit. To us it seems that a business man is more likely to attend in all cases to a business operation to which he is habituated, and the omission of which would bring a penalty upon him, than the often careless author, who may not know that he has anything to do, and usually will not know how to do it.

—Among Parisian journalists of the more pronounced Parisian type, no one is better known than M. Albert Wolff, one of the stars of the *Figaro*. M. Wolff is a Parisian of the Parisians, and his wit has the very latest boulevard flavor, and yet he is not even a Frenchman by birth. He is an imported Parisian, born in Germany, just as Fiorentino, another typical Parisian journalist, was an Italian. In the last century Grimm and Galiani were Frenchmen from Germany and Italy, just as Antony Hamilton, still a century earlier, was an Englishman. M. Wolff, even now that he is a Parisian and the chief writer of *chroniques* in the *Figaro*, and its art critic, does not seem to the profane outsider a very important or a very remarkable person. But in the eyes of M. Gustave Toudouze he is a great man indeed, and so M. Toudouze has devoted a volume of 368 substantial pages to M. Wolff's birth and youthful struggles and final success, his sayings and doings, the calumnies against him, and his propensity for gambling. The book is called 'Albert Wolff: histoire d'un chroniqueur parisien' (Paris: Favard; New York: F. W. Chirstern); and when he received it we incline to believe that M. Wolff longed for a chance to wring M. Toudouze's neck. M. Toudouze is not as bumble or as skilful as Boswell, although he is perhaps quite as admiring; and M. Wolff is not a Johnson; and the result is that M. Toudouze in the best of faith makes a pitiful exhibition of M. Wolff in particular and of Parisian journalism in general. Almost the only thing of interest in the book is the assertion that M. Wolff, in conjunction with his friend M. Ernest Blum, was the author of the 'Memoirs of Thérèsa,' the comic singer—a book which had an enormous vogue in the latter days of the Second Empire. Prefixed to the volume is a portrait of M. Wolff, etched by M. Bastien-Lepage, which makes M. Wolff almost as unpleasant physically as M. Toudouze has shown him to be morally.

—A very curious conjectural emendation is proposed by M. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Revue Critique*. In the medieval representations of the crucifixion of Christ, the soldier who pierces the side with a lance is often labelled Longinus, and the person who holds up a sponge dipped in vinegar at the end of a reed is labelled Stefaton or Stephaton or Stepiton. Now it has already been suggested that the name Longinus, i. e.,

ΛΟΓΓΙΝΟΣ, is a misinterpretation of ΛΟΓΧΗΝ, a lance. M. Clermont-Ganneau suggests that STEFATON is derived in the same way from CHORTHN, a sponge, the accusative form being used as in the case of ΛΟΓΧΗΝ. The resemblance is not striking, yet if the two words be written one above the other, it will be seen that the eye of an ignorant or hasty copyist might well make a mistake. As a name, Stefaton is otherwise unknown, and it is difficult to see whence these names of the soldiers could have come if not from some such misunderstanding of the labels explaining the objects which they bore. M. Clermont Ganneau does not stop here, but suggests that the name of the good robber Dysmas, who appears as a saint in the calendar of the Eastern Church, comes from the last word of the phrase εἰς τὰς δυσμάς, indicating the direction in which the face of Christ was turned, a matter about which there was a long controversy in the early church. The rest of the phrase (εἰς τὰς) he supposes to have been separated from the last part by the cross of Christ, and so to have been taken for the name of the robber on the right, EICTAC giving rise to the various forms in which the name is now found, ETEFAC, PICTAC, ΓΕΥC-TAC, ΓECTAC.

—In No. 925 of the *Nation* we presented to our readers the grounds on which M. Naville, the Egypt Exploration Fund traveller, founded his identification of Pithom, the store city of Exodus, with the present Tell el-Maskhuta, near Ismailia. We alluded to the exultation with which the explorer reported his success, and to the hope of future revelations which the Honorary Secretary of the Fund based on the discovery, in the firm belief that the former had "found the very walls on which the enslaved Hebrews worked." We thought this hope to be a little too sanguine, and the belief exaggerated, even "if the identification is fully confirmed." Mr. Poole, however, and his learned colleague, Miss Amelia B. Edwards—as their frequent communications on the subject showed—continued to be enthusiastic about M. Naville's archaeological achievement. And so was Professor Sayce, who is generally carried away by the faintest plausibility of a find in the obscure fields of Semitic or cognate research. "Menep-tah," the latter wrote in the *Academy* of September 1, "whom Egyptologists . . . have long believed to have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus. . . . is now proved to have been so by M. Naville's recent excavations on the site of Pithom." Professor Lepsius, of Berlin, however, an Egyptologist of an entirely different calibre, was far from seeing things "proved" where there were only sufficient grounds for a conjecture worthy of examination. And, considering the conjecture carefully, he found that there were strong reasons for rejecting it, and he stated them in the last number of the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*. To this refutation of M. Naville's arguments Mr. Poole attempted a reply in the *Academy* of September 22; but the extreme weakness of his position is shown by his being driven to assume—"supposing the authority of the Itinerary [of Anto. inu.] to be of equal weight with the mentions of Pi-tum found by M. Naville in the scanty monuments of Tel-el Maskhutah," which, we must say, few will doubt—"that there was a city called Pithom at either extremity of the Nome" in question, and thus "Tel-el-Maskhutah would . . . still represent the Pithom of Exodus." To Mr. Poole "the existence of two Pithoms within twenty-four Roman miles of each other presents no difficulty, for one would be specially designated, as in parallel cases." Such really parallel cases he ought to have pointed out.

TAYLOR'S ALPHABET.—II.

The Alphabet: an Account of the Origin and Development of Letters. By Isaac Taylor, M.A., LL.D. Vol. I. Semitic Alphabets; Vol. II. Aryan Alphabets. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.; New York: Scribner & Welch, 1883. 2 vols. 8vo.

AFTER devoting a very interesting chapter to a discussion of the primitive form of the alphabet, the names and the phonetic powers of its various letters, and the order in which they were arranged, our author proceeds to give an elaborate account of the Phoenician alphabet, properly so called. Of this venerable alphabet there is only a single representative left in the line of direct descent, the Samaritan, "the sacred script of the few families who still keep alive the old life of Israel on the site of Sechem, and still worship, as of old, on Mount Gerizim." With this exception, it has become extinct, and is only known to us by inscriptions, of which several hundred have been discovered thus far. They can be divided into two distinct classes by easily recognized variations in the shape of certain letters, which form two well-marked alphabetic types. To the oldest of these the provisional name of the Moabite has been given (but for this the more comprehensive substitute of the Tyrian is suggested by the author), and to the second that of the Sidonian. The monuments belonging to the first, or Tyrian, epoch are exceedingly few, of which by far the most important is the celebrated Moabite Stone, or the inscription of King Mesha. This was discovered, in 1868, on the site of Dibon, the ancient capital of the land of Moab, and what portions of it have been preserved are now in the Louvre. It gives an account of the revolt of Mesha, King of Moab, against Jehoram, King of Israel, and can be referred with great precision to the year 890 B. C. Although so venerable a record, it is surpassed in antiquity by the inscriptions upon certain fragments of the sacred brass vessels belonging to the temple of Baal on Mount Lebanon, which were discovered in 1876 by M. Clermont Ganneau, and are now in the cabinet of antiquities of the National Library at Paris. Upon sufficiently strong grounds, these have been assigned to the beginning of the tenth century, or possibly to the end of the eleventh. Inscriptions written in the second, or Sidonian, type of the Phoenician alphabet are very numerous. The most important is the inscription on the magnificent sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, King of Sidon, now one of the glories of the Louvre, to which the probable date of the fifth century B. C. has been assigned. From all the varied materials that have come down to our day the history of the alphabet of Phoenicia has been constructed, beginning with the reign of Solomon and ending with a coin struck at Tyre during the reign of Antonius Pius, in the year 153 of the Christian era. After a brief account of the Punic alphabet—a direct descendant of the Phoenician, whose inscriptions, though numerous, possess comparatively little interest—the history of the development of its other offshoot, the Hebrew alphabet, is given with more detail. This has been rendered possible by the accidental discovery, so recently as June, 1880, of an inscription in the ancient tunnel which conveys water to the Pool of Siloam, and which, it is agreed, must be placed somewhere between the eighth and the sixth centuries. Thus a monument of the early Hebrew alphabet of unimpeachable authenticity and unrivalled in antiquity has been added to the little that previously was actually known of the ancient alphabet of Israel.

Herodotus tells us that "the Phoenicians introduced into Greece the knowledge of letters," and this, the universal belief of the ancient world, is

fully confirmed by internal evidence. The names, the number, the order, and the forms of the letters of the primitive Greek alphabet attest its Semitic origin. Of this archaic alphabet our knowledge has been obtained by a series of inscriptions, upward of ten thousand in number, the earliest to which a definite date can be assigned having been discovered not in Greece, or in any of the numerous seats of Hellenic culture, but in the remote Nubian desert, almost beyond the confines of ancient civilization. Upon the colossal portrait-statues which Rameses the Great carved in the front of the stupendous cave-temple constructed at Abu Simbel, at a time when the Hebrews were still toiling in Egyptian bondage, certain Greek mercenaries in the service of Psammethicus, one of the kings of the twenty-sixth dynasty, toward the end of the seventh century B. C., inscribed a record of their visit in five precious lines of writing. These dry Nubian atmospheres have left in almost their pristine sharpness, and they afford the first unassailable standing-ground for constructing the history of the early alphabet of Greece.

The Cadmean legend, according to which Cadmus, the Tyrian—in Semitic speech, "the man of the East"—sailed for Greece in search of Europa, the damsel who personified "the West," must be regarded as an eponymic myth referring to the exploration of western lands by eastern navigators. This legend designates the island of Thera as the earliest site of Phoenician colonization in the Aegean, and there inscriptions have been found in which, though the language is Greek, the forms of the letters are of the most primitive Phoenician type. So Thera may be regarded as the first spot of European soil on which words were written. Its modern name is Santorin, and it is an extinct volcano, whose crater, partially submerged, forms an excellent land-locked harbor. Two ancient cemeteries, half-buried beneath the ashes of some eruption of long ago, have yielded upward of twenty inscriptions, traced upon blocks of basalt, which contain the names of the Dorian settlers whose graves they cover. They extend over the whole period during which the change in the direction of writing took place. The older records are written in horizontal lines from right to left. Somewhat later we find a curved script running round the margin of the stone. This was succeeded by the *boustrophedon* writing, in which the lines proceed alternately from right to left and from left to right, as oxen, when ploughing, draw the alternate furrows in opposite directions. Finally came the more convenient habit of writing from left to right. The inscriptions from Thera exhibit better than any others the early form and the progressive evolution of the Cadmean alphabet. From other regions, especially from Athens, a few records have been obtained belonging to the same primitive period.

While Thera is claimed as the site of the first Phoenician colony, yet the Cadmean legend gives to Boeotia the glory of having been the birthplace of letters in Greece. Still, it so happens that no very ancient inscriptions have come to light in that country. The oldest monuments of Greek epigraphy which have been found on Hellenic soil, bearing a definite date, are inscriptions on the pedestals of the statues which lined the sacred way leading to the temple of Apollo at Branchida, near Miletus. Several of these are now in the British Museum, bearing various dates ranging over a considerable portion of the sixth century B. C. These belong not to the primitive alphabet, but to one of the local varieties—the Ionian—which mark the second stage in its history, and which may be designated as the Epoch of Transition. This began in the seventh century, and lasted to the close of the

fifth, and in this period we have several important dated monuments exclusively of Ionian origin. It is not till the middle of the fifth century that we have any dated monuments belonging to any of the Western types, but these are of the very highest interest. Among them are the names of the allied states of Hellas, inscribed on the coils of the three-headed bronze serpent which supported the gold tripod, dedicated to the Delphian Apollo, 476 n. c., from the Persian spoils of the victory at Platæa. This famous monument was transported to Byzantium by Constantine the Great, and still stands in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. Of almost equal interest is the bronze Etruscan helmet, now in the British Museum, which was dedicated to the Olympian Zeus by Hiero I., King of Syracuse, in commemoration of the great victory off Cumæ, in which he destroyed the naval supremacy of the Etruscans. This battle was fought in the year 474 n. c., and is celebrated in an ode of Pindar. These two inscriptions serve as epigraphic standards to fix the dates of some very important undated monuments, among which are treaties between different states of Greece. The third epoch witnessed the emergence, through the action of the law of the survival of the fittest, of the classical alphabets of European culture—the Ionian and the Italic. The former of these was adopted by the Athenians by a formal decree, passed in the archonship of Euclid, 433 B. C., which ordained that the old Attic alphabet should be replaced in all public documents by the Ionian, which was already in literary use in many parts of Hellas. This Ionian alphabet has been the source of the Eastern scripts—the Romane, the Coptic, the Slavic, and others. Of the Italic, which became the parent of the modern alphabets of western Europe, we will proceed to speak at somewhat greater length.

Probably about the ninth century n. c. there came colonies from Chalcis, in Eubœa, to Sicily and to Cumæ and Naples, in central Italy, bringing with them their own local type of alphabet, from which the various national alphabets of the Italic peoples derived their origin. These were the Etruscan, the Umbrian, the Oscan, and the Latin, which, owing to political causes, finally displaced the others. This primitive alphabet, used by the first settlers, may be conveniently designated the "Pelasgic"; and in the so-called "abecedaria" of Formello, Cere, and Colle we are furnished with authentic examples of it. These are alphabets scratched upon children's cups and buried with them in their graves, or painted in large letters upon the walls of rock-hewn tombs, as in the case of Colle, near Siena. This was discovered so long ago as 1698, but only the first sixteen letters could be deciphered, the rest having faded away. But in 1886 there was found at Cervetri, the ancient Cære, a little village on the coast midway between Rome and Civitavecchia, an ancient tomb, containing among other objects a small vase of plain black ware, now preserved in the Vatican, in the Museo Gregoriano. Round its base is engraved an alphabet almost complete, and on the body of it is rudely scratched a syllabary with various blunders and erasures. "Few more curious relics have come down to us from the ancient world than this insignificant 'Pelasgic ink-pot,' which probably formed the alphabet and primer of the child, in whose tomb it must have lain some five-and-twenty centuries." So late as 1882 another vase of black ware, in the shape of an amphora, was discovered in a tomb at Formello, near Veii, bearing an Etruscan inscription of ownership, together with a syllabary, and the Greek alphabet twice repeated. These two alphabets are of unique interest, as they contain archaic forms of every one of the

twenty-two primitive Phoenician letters, arranged precisely in the order in which they stand in the Semitic alphabet, while at the end are appended four additional signs of Greek origin. Besides these abecedaria, two others have been discovered giving a purely Etruscan form of the alphabet.

Upon the question of the origin of the Etruscan alphabet the opinion of scholars has been much divided. By some its peculiarities have been referred to the immediate influence of Greek potters, who immigrated into the country, the Euebeir and Eugrammos, the "Fine-Hand" and "Skilful Pencil" of ancient legend; others find the solution in a direct derivation from the Phoenician. If, however, we confine ourselves to the lapidary characters, its Chalcidian origin can hardly be gainsaid. In regard to the origin of the Latin alphabet, its Chalcidian affinities were first pointed out by Otfried Müller, and they have been recognized by Mommsen, and finally established by Kirchoff. As the alphabet of Rome, it became the alphabet of Latin Christendom and the literary alphabet of Europe. Although essentially identical with the Greek, seven of its letters differ more or less in their forms, three in their values, and three in position; two, which became obsolete in Greek, were retained in Latin, and one new letter, G, was evolved. Like the Greek, the Latin alphabets are divided into four styles—capitals, uncials, cursives, and minuscules. Of the Roman capital letters, examples in use as early as the third century B.C. are to be seen in the well-known inscriptions upon the tombs of the Scipios now in the Vatican, and their form is practically the same as that now used by printers. The uncials were a formal book hand, clear and legible, used by the professional scribes. The letters are not so square or so upright as in lapidary script; the forms are somewhat rounded, and have usually a slight inclination of the vertical strokes. The third script was a careless and rather irregular cursive character, employed for private letters and for keeping accounts. In 1875 a remarkable discovery was made at Pompeii of 132 wax tablets (*libelli*) written in this ancient cursive hand, and containing the business accounts of a banker, L. Cæcilius Jucundus, for the years 55 and 56 A.D. From a combination of the uncial and cursive scripts there sprung in the ninth century a new character, the minuscule, which became the book hand of the future.

Our author now enters upon the vast domain of Greek and Latin palaeography, which of itself has become the subject of a copious literature, epitomizing briefly the history of the various mediæval alphabets, both in the East and the West, giving a short account of the most important manuscripts, and pointing out the landmarks of palaeographic science, and finally referring the student to all the latest and best authorities. In fact, throughout this work we have noticed that great pains is taken everywhere to give a complete bibliography of the subject in hand. A variety of national scripts arose with the establishment of the Teutonic kingdoms upon the ruins of the Roman Empire. The most important of these were the Merovingian, the Lombardic, and the Visigothic, to which must be added the Irish, the most magnificent of all mediæval scripts, and which exercised a profound influence on the later alphabets of Europe. From a combination of the two great schools of calligraphy, the Roman and the Irish, arose the Anglo-Saxon script, the precursor of the so-called "Caroline minuscule," which was developed in the ninth century by the famous Alcuin, of York, the friend and preceptor of Charlemagne. This was the parent of the "Roman" alphabet in which our books are now

printed, and which does not vary appreciably from the forms of the types used at Subiaco, Rome, and Venice by the Italian printers of the fifteenth century. But in the intervening centuries there had gradually crept in a deterioration in the art of writing, which resulted in the development, in the fourteenth century, of the Gothic, or black-letter, character. This was imitated by the first printers in their movable types, and these barbarous forms are still essentially retained by the Teutonic nations, though discarded by the English and the Latin races. But, from its superior excellencies, the Roman alphabet is constantly extending its range, and it bids fair to become ultimately the sole alphabet of the future.

We have no space to follow our author further in his studies of the various Iranian and Indian alphabets, nor even in his interesting narrative of the development of the different alphabets of Hellenic origin, such as the Coptic, the Slavonic, the Albanian, and especially the mysterious Ogham characters of the ancient Irish. But we feel bound to notice briefly his discovery of the real origin of the Runic characters of northern Europe, as this appears to us to be his most important original contribution to knowledge.

In the Scandinavian lands there are to be found multitudes of inscriptions in the ancient alphabet of the Norsemen, which is called the Runic, and similar records occur over all the different regions that were overrun or settled by them, like the valley of the Danube or the British Isles. The oldest of them probably date as far back as the second century A.D., and they continued in use as late as the fourteenth. The alphabet goes by the name of the Futhore, from the names of the first six letters, and, like the abecedaria, there have been found examples in which all the twenty-four letters occur in their regular order. Runes of different periods and countries exhibit considerable differences, but they can all be classified in three main divisions, the Gothic, the Anglian, and the Scandinavian, the primitive type being the Gothic. The numerous monuments bearing Runic inscriptions prove that the Scandinavian races were in possession of a definite and well-established alphabet before their dispersion began, but it differs so greatly from every known type that the question as to its origin has been a fruitful source of conjecture and controversy.

The theory of Lenormant, that the Runes originated out of Semitic alphabet transmitted by Phoenician merchants, is supported by no valid arguments, and the only possible sources left must be Hellenic or Italian. The Latin origin, though it has been strenuously advocated, is open, in Mr. Taylor's opinion, to very serious objections, geographical, chronological, and phonological. The Runes were unknown to the Teutonic tribes who came into early contact with the Romans, and yet this theory requires that they should have been transmitted from Gaul to the Baltic without leaving behind any trace of their passage. Not less formidable is the chronological difficulty; for the Runes date from the early empire, and this does not allow sufficient time to account for the differences which distinguish the characters from the Latin alphabet. Moreover, although the Latin alphabet offers easy prototypes for several of the characters, it affords no explanation for the origin of many others, which, however, can be explained without difficulty as derivatives from letters peculiar to Greece. Thus the Greek source remains the only possible hypothesis, and our author proceeds to a careful study of the manner in which the transmission may have taken place.

From the fourth century B.C. on, the Goths were in occupation of the region south of the

Baltic and east of the Vistula, and in direct commercial intercourse with the Greek traders, who had long been established at Olbia, with whom they bartered the amber and furs of the north for the precious metals and various objects of Greek manufacture. Material evidences of this ancient commerce are common, such as the hoards of early Greek coins that have been dug up at Bromberg, in Posen, on the Lower Vistula, and near Kiev, on the Dnieper. Nor are other proofs wanting of the influence of Greek civilization in this region. From the Greek traders at Olbia the Goths could as readily have obtained a knowledge of the Greek alphabet as the Greeks themselves gained it from the Phœnicians. The probable date of this first acquaintance with letters goes as far back as the sixth century B.C. This is shown both by the forms of the Runic letters and by the fact that many of the oldest Runic inscriptions are either retrograde or boustrophedon in direction. The standard Greek alphabet of the fifth century does not supply so satisfactory prototypes for the Runes as does the earlier alphabet, which prevailed in Thrace and the Greek colonies on the Euxine during the sixth century, just before the commencement of the Persian war. In this certain forms were retained which afterward disappeared, and these peculiarities have been transmitted to the Runes. By his minute and technical study of all the individual Runic characters, and by the skilful manner in which he has pointed out the various changes they underwent in the course of their evolution, and in the order of their arrangement, the author has produced a result so satisfactory that his arguments have met with general acceptance among scholars, including several who had previously advocated some other solution.

Here we must take leave of this valuable and interesting work, with the most hearty commendation of the talent, the learning, and the industry of the author, which have bestowed upon the world of letters a gift calculated to lighten the toil of succeeding generations of scholars.

RECENT POETRY.

THE poetry of the last season has been, like the season itself, cool and dry, with occasional impulses of extreme heat. The jets of warmth are not communicated, strange to say, by Mr. Swinburne, who comes before us in his 'Century of Roundels' (New York: Worthington) singing chastely and sweetly, but somewhat monotonously, the delights of parental affection and the charms of childhood. The roundel is, to our thinking, fitter for an occasional relish than for human nature's daily food, and the hundredth repetition of it must become cloying to any one. Yet this is Mr. Swinburne's whim, and he must have his way. But since a child is the most genuine thing in the universe, the poetry which would describe a child must not be weakened by a touch of affectation; and as there is nothing so endless as the variety in a child's life, it is a mistake to imprison it in a series of roundels. Nothing can be prettier than the following:

"A Little way, more soft and sweet
Than field's aflower with May,
A babe's feet venturing scarce complete
A little way."

"Eyes full of dawning day
Look up for mother's eyes to meet
Too blithe for song to say,

"Glad as the golden spring to greet
Its first live leaflet's play,
Love, laughing, leads the little feet
A little way" (p. 55).

It is no wonder that Mr. Swinburne wishes to claim Catullus as his "brother" (p. 89), recalling, doubtless, a grace which even he cannot equal in that delicious description by the Roman poet:

"Torquatus volo parvulus
Matris a gremio sua
Porrigens teneras manus
Dulce videt ad patrem
Semihante labello."

But it is really a pleasure to see a man of Mr. Swinburne's genius appearing at last clothed and in his right mind; and we cannot wish him back in his period of outlawry.

Nor can we find any perilous torrid heats in Miss Ella Wheeler's 'Poems of Passion' (Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co.), for the simple reason that the passionateness on which she seems to pride herself is really less poetic, as well as less womanly, than her calmer song. When she writes thus, for instance, she strikes an obviously false note:

"She touches my cheek, and I quiver—
I tremble with exquisite pain;
She sighs—like an overcharged river
My blood rushes on through my veins;
She smiles—and in mad-tiger fashion,
As a she-tiger fondles her own.
I clasp her with fierceness and passion,
And kiss her with shudder and groan" (p. 47).

There is surely nothing tempting about this. It is not the passion of Rossetti or Browning, nor even of Gautier and Baudelaire; it is a woman's crude imitation of all these. But when Miss Wheeler writes simply and calmly, keeping on her own ground of life and experience, she is strong—as in this really fine poem:

"LOVE'S COMING.

"She had looked for his coming as warriors come,
With the clash of arms and the bugle's call;
But he came instead with a stealthy tread,
Which she did not hear at all.

"She had thought how his armor would blaze in the sun,
As he rode like a prince to claim his bride:
In the sweet dim light of the falling night
She found him at her side.

"She had dreamed how the gaze of his strange, bold eye
Would wake her heart to a sudden glow:
She found in his face the familiar grace
Of a friend she used to know.

"She had dreamed how his coming would stir her soul,
As the ocean is stirred by the wild storm's strife:
He brought her the balm of a heavenly calm,
And a peace which crowned her life" (p. 75).

It is impossible to deny real passion, and of a sad and very poetic sort, to 'The Love-Poems of Louis Barnaval,' edited, with an introduction, by Charles De Kay (New York: D. Appleton & Co.). This remarkable volume takes a stride so far in advance of anything yet done by Mr. De Kay, that we can hardly wonder at the ready acceptance by the public of the "Louis Barnaval" authorship, laboriously fortified as it is by a prolonged memoir and by an actual dedication "to Maria Teresa de Kerlere," formerly Maria Barnaval, of Tensas Parish, Louisiana." This is certainly carrying out an *alias* very boldly, if an *alias* it be: yet we can only say that, if there ever was a Louis Barnaval, his literary methods and whims and surprises were marvellous duplicates of those of his editor. Such lines as these recall the roughest places in Mr. De Kay's epics:

"Great God! these toads that still infest her way,
Huddle in holes and teatly propagate;
Anon, when Luna marches forth in state,
Majestic, amorous of departing day,
And shows the world that love is no disgrace,
Out crawl these toads and blubber in her face" (p. 146).

It is a suspicious fact that there is nothing tropical but passion in these poems attributed to the young New Orleans creole. All the poetic allusions and properties, all the descriptions of nature, are drawn from his brief life of maturity at the North. His wild flowers—and they appear often, and are very genuinely painted—are the violet and wind flower, the mullein and the Indian pipe. Almost the only bit of Southern nature is in the poem on Pizarro, which has a dramatic quality apart from the fires of passion:

"When first he ravaged the Peruvian lands,
Pizarro, chief and torturer of his peers,
Imbibed through greedy, all-believing ears
Tales of the golden and the silvery strands.

"Tales of a nation boastful by the water
Where streams like serpents in a mighty flood,
Tales of the women to their flesh and blood
Spare not, but give each infant son to slaughter.

"Greed saw it rise, the glittering high fane'd town
Far in the wood wastes; and desire, the shining
Of golden cornices, the gems entwining
Locks that the feathers of the war-bird crown.

"Thirsted for them the gross Pizarro spirit:
Set on, O comrades! at the last we know,
Where fitly love lurks under woman's blow
In warrior wives who warrior souls inherit.

"A Barnaval with many a comrade clashes
Sword on his helm. Alas for firm set wills!
Alas for tangles of Madeira's hills!
The parrot screams among their moldering ashes" (p. 105).

Echoes of passion—and of Keats—are to be found in a sumptuously printed volume, 'Poems Antique and Modern,' by Charles Leonard Moore (Philadelphia: J. E. Potter & Co.). The poems are smooth, exotic, cultivated, graceful, and a little cloying; but one of the best is on the home theme of Edgar Poe. There is an imaginative touch that would have pleased Poe himself in the closing lines:

"An altar in each heart for him shall burn
As long as sorrow lasts.
As long as Autumn, or the dim twilight,
Usurp the seats of Summer or throned Day,
As long as shadows thicken in our minds.
He reigns, who was the very spirit of strife,
Who was primal to the hoary night,
Who was the god and image of decay:
And all the tossed waves and storm-stricken winds
Of distressed, human life
Answer to him, who, with the secret stars,
Rises o'er chaos to renew its ways" (p. 322).

The faults of Mr. Moore apparently are those of youth; but the author of these lines ought, with profounder personal experience and more concentration of his powers, to produce something of more value than this fair volume.

In strange contrast with these classic and romantic strains, comes again the pure and cloistered voice of Jones Very. It may be said of him, as was once said of Thoreau: "His range is narrow, but to be a master is to be a master." Of the meditative sonnet Jones Very was master; no one has ever done anything in that direction more genuine or of clearer note. It is as if the very finest essence of Puritanism had come distilled through the soul of one of Hawthorne's saintly women; and those who can recall Mr. Very in his prime, when first touched with the sense of religious mission that seemed to wrap a white mantle of purity around him, will enjoy the appreciative memoir by his friend, Mr. W. P. Andrews. It is a curious coincidence that a sleepy old town like Salem, Massachusetts, once the home of such dark tragedies and then of such busy enterprise, should in one year send forth the memoirs and literary remains of two such lofty, ascetic souls as Jones Very and Samuel Johnson.

Mr. Browning's 'Jocoseria' (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) is in strange contrast to the smooth and meditative strains of the New England seer. Some of the poems are written in his most abstruse, others in his most jarring, mood; while others, as "Pambo," are simply a hammering out of some well-known legend, without improving it. Yet there occur some strains so melodious as to recall the author's early 'Dramatic Lyrics,' and almost all have a tantalizing gift of yielding more and more wisdom upon repeated reading—a power in which Browning still stands unequalled among his contemporaries: a power which makes of his especial disciples a class apart, and loyal to their master in precise proportion to the world's neglect.

There comes also from England a poem with this prolonged title, 'Mano: a Poetical History, of the time of the close of the Tenth Century, concerning the Adventures of a Norman Knight, which fell part in Normandy, part in Italy. In Four Books. By Richard Watson Dixon, Vicar of Hayton, Hon. Canon of Carlisle' (London: George Routledge & Sons). It belongs to the same class with Mr. Morris's or Mr. De Kay's

very longest narrative poems, but is more languid than the one, while smoother than the other; and might serve for a whole summer-day's pleasure—perhaps, indeed, for a whole season's—to some young lady in a hammock, with a taste for that sort of thing. Yet we cannot assign to it a high or permanent place in literature, we should rather take the risk of awarding such place to a drama which comes to us from Rome—"Mary Magdalene: a Poem," by Mrs. Richard Greenough (Boston: Osgood). Mrs. Greenough is the wife of the well-known sculptor, and the drama is suggested by his statue of Mary Magdalene at the tomb. The author is known in literature through an early volume of rather striking tales and one or two graceful lyrics, but none of these predicted the sustained power and the even excellence of this fine treatment of an oft told story; and the historical painting and other accessories are eminently well done. More fortunate than his English compeer, Mr. Woolner, Mr. Greenough does not need to handle in person both pen and chisel; there is a division of labor in his household; and the poem of 'Mary Magdalene' shows in passages almost the vigor of Mr. Woolner's 'Pygmalion,' while softer and more Christian in its tone.

Among minor American volumes there is to be noted one called 'Dreams' (Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co.), chiefly noticeable for a poem of considerable length and some ability upon the early loves of Mary Wollstonecraft, whose name the author repeatedly misspells; an odd collection of 'Versicles,' by Isaac Flagg (Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co.), with some quaint and rather overdone translations from the livelier idylls of Theocritus; a rather striking Spanish poem on Niagara ('El Poema del Niagara'; New York), by Juan Antonio Perez Bonalde, who dedicates his little volume to Castelar, and is himself the subject of a preliminary sketch by Jose Marti. There is also a collection, somewhat ambitious, but not without merit, of sonnets on the successive months, under the title of 'The Yearly Moons,' by Joseph H. Young (Philadelphia: Lippincott); a small volume of poems in dialect, 'The Old Swimm'n Hole and 'Leven More Poems,' by Benj. F. Johnson, of Boone (James Whitcomb Riley), (Indianapolis, Ind.: Geo. C. Hitt & Co.); and an attractive group of 'Poems from the Spanish of Fra Luis Ponce de Leon,' translated by Henry Phillips, Jr. (Philadelphia: Privately printed). These last sustain the merit of the Spanish translations in Mr. Phillips's 'Poems from the Spanish and German' which appeared four or five years ago. Mr. Chas. F. Lumis has also sent out a new series of 'Birch-Bark Poems,' written and printed by himself, on a paper made of the material thus indicated, in Chillicothe, Ohio. There are also some new collections of poetry; as, for instance, a very well-devised little volume of 'Five-Minutes' Daily Readings of Poetry,' selected by an English editor, H. L. Sidney Lear (New York: Whittaker). With this may be classed 'Surf and Wave: The Sea as Sung by the Poets,' edited by Anne L. Ward (New York: Crowell & Co.). This volume we have, however, found very disappointing; its tawdry binding and very mediocre illustrations indicating a certain mediocrity in the book itself, which differs from its more fastidious predecessors in the same line, 'Thalatta' and 'Sea and Shore,' in being rather a collection than a selection, including a good deal that is commonplace and not worth reprinting. The editor has the advantage, however, of a theme that is inexhaustible, and of doing her work later than those who have made up previous collections.

No recent volume of the minor sort has given us so much real pleasure as 'Songs of Fair

Weather' (Boston : Osgood & Co.), by Maurice Thompson, the well known writer on archery. Many of the poems are shot swift and straight as arrows, and the reader feels the very thrill in the air ; while there are descriptions of nature which are real additions to our literature, they are so fresh and vigorous. A hundred odes on skylark and nightingale, written by young American bards who never saw or heard those celebrated performers, are not worth the flavor of Southern woodland life in lines like these :

" THE BLUE HERON.

" Where water-grass grows overgreen,
On damp, cool flats by gentle streams,
Still as a ghost and sad of mien,
With half-closed eyes, the heron dreams.

" Above him, in the sycamore,
The flicker beats a dull tattoo;
Through papaw groves the soft airs pour
Gold dust of blooms and fragrance new.

" And, from the thorn it loves so well,
The oriole flings out its strong,
Sharp lay, wrought in the crucible
Of its flame-circled soul of song.

" The heron nods. The charming runes
Of Nature's music thrill his dreams;
The joys of many Mays and Junes
Wash past him like cool summer streams.

" What tranquill life, what joyful rest,
To feel the touch of fragrant grass,
And doze like him, while tenderest
Dream-waves across my sleep would pass!"

THE DAWN OF ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE.

Lettere edite ed inedite di Camillo Cavour; raccolte ed illustrate da Luigi Chiala. Volume secondo, 1852-1858: Crimea, Congresso di Parigi, Plombières. (Pp. cciv.-453.) Torino: Roux e Favale. 1883.

CAVOUR succeeded Santa Rosa as Minister of Agriculture on October 11, 1850, and became Minister of Finance in the following April. On November 4, 1852, he was intrusted by the King with the formation of a Cabinet of which he was Premier. During the next five years the progress of Italy toward independence may best be followed by studying Cavour's career. A remarkably short time had sufficed to bring him to the foremost position in Piedmont; henceforth, his aim was to force Europe to recognize Piedmont as the leader of Italy. Few men have understood the task before them better than Cavour. He knew that practical common-sense, unromantic and persistent efforts at reform, unpoetical sacrifices, and systematic endeavors would in the end accomplish more than sentiment, enthusiasm, Carbonarism. Sardinia he wished to make a model constitutional kingdom. England he kept before him as a pattern. When he could justly call the world to witness that in liberalism and enlightenment Sardinia was the peer of the most progressive country in Europe; when he could prove that down-trodden and derided Italians were capable of the highest order of self-government; when he could point to the condition of the Lombards and the Neapolitans, confident that the contrast with the Piedmontese could not escape the most casual observer; then he felt that the liberation of the Peninsula could not be far off. He wished not only to gain the moral support of foreigners, but also to make sure that all Italians should look up to the stanch little kingdom of Victor Emmanuel as the home of liberty and the rallying-ground of their cause.

To appreciate the difficulties with which the Sardinian Premier was confronted we must recall the dismal condition of the people whose fortunes he had undertaken to guide. The battle of Novara left Piedmont without an army, and, what was worse, it confirmed the scoffers who had asserted that the Italians were deficient in military qualities. Education was still so largely in the hands of priests that it was a weapon of ignorance, not of progress. Even acknowledged Liberals were timid and doubt-

ful. The State Treasury was empty. But under Gen. Alfonso La Marmora the regular army was remodelled; the fortifications along the Austrian frontiers were strengthened; means were adopted for a speedy mobilization of the reserve force upon an emergency. All this required money, which could only be provided by large loans involving heavier taxes. Public works of all kinds—particularly the construction of railways—were warmly encouraged. The school and electoral systems felt almost immediately the influence of Cavour's reforming genius.

Whatever he achieved was at first stubbornly opposed. The reactionaries were naturally his enemies, but more dangerous still was the lukewarmness or active opposition of Moderates of undoubted patriotism, who could not, however, understand the wisdom of Cavour's policy. Very soon he showed the Clericals that he would not stop short of active warfare in his dealings with the Vatican. He was the author of a bill sanctioning civil marriage, and of another abolishing the convents of Sardinia. Their possessions, valued at \$20,000,000, were sold, the proceeds being devoted to the improvement of the regular clergy. This radical reform had scarcely been brought before the Parliament ere several members of the King's family died almost simultaneously, and the Papists did not let slip the excellent opportunity of declaring that Heaven was thereby avenging itself upon the wicked sovereign. Victor Emmanuel was too good a Catholic not to heed the Pope's words in matters spiritual, but he had also too much common sense ever to fall deeply into superstition. "They tell me," he said in the present case, "that God has wished to punish me because I have consented to these laws. He has taken away my mother, my wife, and my brother; they threaten me with still heavier punishments; but they do not seem to understand that a ruler who wishes to secure his own happiness in the next world must first assure the happiness of his subjects in this."

While these perplexing questions busied Cavour at home, he was not blind to events abroad. He was on the alert watching the complications in which the great Powers were rapidly becoming entangled, and he was the first to perceive how the approaching conflict in the Orient might be turned to the advantage of Piedmont. Even before Napoleon created himself Emperor, Cavour recognized in him a possible future ally, or at least one whose friendship would be worth keeping. In October, 1854, when as yet Sardinia had not joined fortunes with France and England, Cavour wrote to Dabormida: "If Sebastopol is taken we must compliment the Emperor. They wish the Government to confide this mission to Count Arrese. In his quality of old friend, this mission would have something quite personal about it which would perhaps flatter Louis Napoleon. Besides, were he welcome—and he could not but be—it would be a famous lesson for Austria. Think of it. The idea is somewhat novel."

More novel still was the idea which about that time took shape, that Sardinia should enter the Alliance of the Western Powers. She was not rich enough in either money or men to be of great assistance. The expedition must entail large expenditures, and how would it benefit Victor Emmanuel and the Italians? Cavour could not explain to the world that his chief object in sending troops to aid the Allies was to secure their active good-will so that they might even be induced to take arms in Italy's behalf. He could not reply directly to those enemies who asked pertinently what possible business Sardinia had to meddle with the affairs of the Crimea. The result silenced those who repeated

the wearisome *Qu'allait il faire dans cette galère?* and established for ever the sagacity of Cavour's policy. In the spring of 1855 General La Marmora embarked with 18,000 soldiers. For several months Italy watched with anxiety for some military achievement. At last, on August 17, 1855, a telegram came to the War Office at Turin announcing that 50,000 Russians had been repulsed by the Piedmontese troops in the trenches of the Tchernaya. That exploit redeemed the martial prestige of the Italians.

The position which Piedmont took proved of unexpected value to the Allies because it decided Austria to remain neutral. Had she been true to her promises, or had she followed her wishes, she would have joined Russia. In that case, France and England would have been overmatched. Cavour's prompt action warned Austria that she would be obliged to fight again for her Italian possessions, and she therefore chose to keep out of the conflict. When the Congress of the Powers met at Paris early in 1856 to settle upon the terms of peace, she tried to exclude Cavour, who represented Piedmont, from the deliberations. Well had it been for her had she succeeded, for, on the 8th of April Cavour rose in the Congress and uttered his famous appeal for Italy. The plenipotentiaries who had assembled at Paris to discuss the boundaries of the Danubian provinces, found themselves suddenly forced to listen to the grievances of Italy. From that moment they knew that the Italian Question could no longer be ignored.

The years 1856-7-8 hastened the solution of the problem. Cavour's aim was to secure the active support of France and England, to propitiate Prussia and Russia, to strengthen Piedmont's position at home, to encourage the aspirations of Italians abroad, and by every means to deepen the shadow of unpopularity which fell upon Austria at the Congress. More than once it seemed that he must fail. Mazzini was a perpetual source of anxiety. The mad attempt of Orsini to assassinate Napoleon almost caused a rupture between France and Piedmont. The emissaries of the Vatican were busier and more insidious than ever. Famine, and consequent disease, added to the discontent of the people and the perplexities of the ministers. Nevertheless we can see now, although it was not plain then, that the indefatigable Prime Minister gained ground steadily during those three anxious years, which were to the champions of Italian independence what the hardships of Valley Forge were to the patriots of the American Revolution. The crowning event of this period was Cavour's interview with Napoleon at Plombières, on July 21, 1858. That meeting, which seemed so casual as to be insignificant, was one of the most important single scenes in the entire drama. Cavour, who had been taking a short vacation, stopped over night at the little town of Plombières. The Emperor happened to be there. The next day they drove together in a two-seated wagon, drawn by a single horse. No one accompanied them, Napoleon himself being the driver. They were gone eight hours. During that time Cavour had extracted from the Emperor the promise that French bayonets should help the Sardinians to expel the Austrians from Italy. That drive bore fruit in 1859 and the following years.

Signor Chiala gives 341 edited and inedited letters of Cavour in his second volume. In them we are able to trace the growth of the Premier's plans from the moment of their conception to their accomplishment. We hear his private reasons for a stroke of policy which in public he could not unreserveably explain. We are everywhere struck with the completeness, the universality of his statesmanship. Like Mr. Gladstone, he did the work of half-a-dozen ministers.

Evidences of his tact, his sense of humor, and of his affection for his intimates abound. But it is to his utterances upon the Italian Question that the historical student is naturally most attracted. On February 12, 1853, Cavour wrote Lord E. G. Hatherton concerning the clerical situation and Pius IX.: "Up to the present his efforts have only resulted in making him lose credit with us and in diminishing his influence. His efforts are completely impotent. The more he busies himself, the more the masses detach themselves from him: it is not to be said that on that account they cease to be Catholics, but with them the sentiment of being independent of the court of Rome becomes stronger every day." Again, he declared that "in spite of the utmost good-will it is impossible to get along with Rome. She is angry at our liberty, at our independence, much more than at the laws [relating to civil marriage, etc.] which tend to introduce into our country, in a moderate measure, what has existed for a half-century in every other Catholic country."

After the Austrian decree of February 13, 1853, by which the property of certain Lombard exiles living in Piedmont was confiscated, Cavour puts the situation forcibly before Massimo d'Azeglio, then in London:

"This act violates in the most flagrant manner every principle of equity and justice. It has no precedents in modern history, for the [French] Convention itself attacked the émigrés, but not those to whom it had given a release from French citizenship. We must go back to the Middle Ages, to the epoch of Guelfs and Ghibellines to find anything analogous. . . . Austria, in aiming at Sardinian citizens, has intended to cast a slur on our Government, to degrade it in the eyes of Italy and of Europe. She would succeed if, after repeated and vain protests, we remained with our hands in our pockets. This we cannot, we ought not do. We cannot allow the constitutional and liberal principles of which we are the defenders and custodians in the South of Europe, to be vilified."

Plainly, the sentence which we have italicized indicates that even in 1853 Cavour saw that, if the worst came about, Piedmont might be driven to choose a desperate struggle instead of dishonor. Three years later, he alluded to this possibility in terms that were not ambiguous. In an interview with Lord Clarendon, immediately after the famous appeal of April 8, 1856, Cavour said (we quote from a letter of his to Rattazzi):

"My lord, what has passed at the Congress proves two things: first, that Austria is decided to persist in her system of oppression and violence toward Italy; second, that the efforts of diplomacy are impotent to modify her system. . . . My friends and I shall not fear to prepare ourselves for a terrible war, for a war to the death, for a war to the knife!" Here I paused. Lord Clarendon, without showing either surprise or disapprobation, said then: "I believe you are right. Your position becomes very difficult. I believe an explosion is inevitable, only the moment has not come to talk of it openly." I replied: "I have given you proofs of my moderation and prudence. I believe that in politics one must be excessively reserved in words and excessively decided in actions. There are positions where there is less danger in an audacious move than in an excess of prudence. With La Marmora I am persuaded that we are in a state to begin war, and, however brief it may be, you will be forced to aid us." Lord Clarendon replied with great vivacity: "Oh! certainly, if you are in trouble you can count on us, and you will see with what energy we will come to your assistance."

Cavour had already thought out the details of the conflict as carefully as if he were sure of its immediate outbreak. In his mind he had prepared for everything, as he shows further on in the same letter:

"I believe it opportune," he confides to Rattazzi, "to go to London to talk with Palmerston and the other leaders of the Government. If they snare Lord Clarendon's views, we must make ready quietly, get a loan of thirty millions,

and upon the return of La Marmora [from the Crimea] give an ultimatum to Austria which she cannot accept, and begin the war. The Emperor cannot be averse to this war: he desires it at heart. He will certainly aid us if he sees England decided to enter the lists. Moreover, I will talk to the Emperor as I talked to Lord Clarendon. The last conversations I had with him and his ministers were of a kind to prepare the way for a warlike declaration. The only obstacle that I foresee is the Pope. What to do with him in case of an Italian war? I hope after reading this letter you will not think that I have been attacked with brain fever, or that I have fallen into a state of mental exaltation."

There are many other important extracts which we might make, but we have space for only one more. It is taken from a confidential letter addressed to General La Marmora, after Cavour's famous interview with Napoleon at Plombières. The Sardinian statesman thus sums up the result of that meeting:

"It was agreed, first, that the State of Massa and Carrara should be the cause or pretext of war; second, that the scope of the war should be the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy, and the constitution of the kingdom of Upper Italy, composed of the entire valley of the Po, of the Legations and Marches; third, the cession of Savoy to France—that of the county of Nice undecided; fourth, the Emperor believes himself sure of the co-operation of Russia and of the neutrality of England and Prussia. . . . The sole point not defined is that of the marriage of Princess Clotilde. The King had authorized me to agree only in case the Emperor made that a condition *sine qua non* of the alliance. Since the Emperor did not push his demands so far, as an honest man I did not assume the engagement. But I am convinced that he attaches the greatest importance to this marriage, and on it depends, if not the alliance, at least its final issue. . . . I left Plombières with my mind more serene. If the King consents to the marriage, I am confident, I will say almost certain, that within two years you will enter Vienna at the head of our victorious troops."

Signor Chiala's historical commentary, prefixed to the letters, contains much valuable crude material for readers to digest at their leisure. He has collated so many anecdotes and speeches that we are surprised he should have omitted a full report of Cavour's appeal at the Congress of Paris, and also Cavour's official account of the Plombières interview, which probably exists in the archives of the Italian State Department. With these exceptions the editing is generally satisfactory.

Essays, Modern.—Essays, Classical. By F. W. H. Myers. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1883. 2 vols.

The leading essay in these two volumes, the paper on the "Greek Oracles," is reprinted from *Hellenica*. At the time of its original publication it attracted considerable attention among scholars as a serious attempt to vindicate the dignity of the Greek belief in Delphi, and to support on grounds of knowledge the Emersonian affirmation that the oracle "never fell from lips of cunning." The author treats mainly of this, the omphalos of earth, and traces its history from the time when it was hardly more than a centre of animistic superstition, through its blending of nature-worship with sorcery, until it became less the voice of Apollo than the conscience of Greece. Finally he reports its last mystic aspirations, when, like a long-extinct crater, it rekindled in the outflow of religious feeling in the first Christian centuries. This history, which mirrors the religious growth and spiritual needs of the Greek race for a thousand years, including without a break the passage of the mind from fetishism to pantheistic ecstasy, is necessarily profoundly interesting and suggestive. In recounting it the author shows such quick susceptibility to different moods of the religious emotion, and such apprehension of its phases, as to prove that, though a scholar

and writing about a long-silent shrine, he is most interested in religion as alive and contemporary—if, indeed, its fortunes were not the thing nearest to his heart. In the additional essays, now collected from various sources, the predominant topic, whether introduced from the ethical, humanitarian, or philosophical side, is the same, and is treated with equal readiness of insight and fervency of sympathy. Thus, when, with the reticence and glow of personal attachment, he describes the charm of George Eliot, the seriousness and elevation of her life, he focuses his praise into a eulogy of her moral ideal; or he seems to recount the career of Mazzini mainly to celebrate the latter's self-derived religion; or, while apparently being tempted to assent to Renan's half ironical, half serious relegation of the supernatural to another world, he makes his most vigorous assault on scientific indifferentism. The curious and marked characteristic of this survey of the opinion of some of the most eminent moderns is, that Mr. Myers does not, as is usually the case with men of broad religious sympathies, spend his emotion in mere sentimental effusiveness; he evidently hopes for, if he does not expect, a scientific solution of the eternal secret. In the "Greek Oracles" he made a promise (which he now says he failed to keep, not because of the lack, but the abundance, of material) to illustrate the ancient mysteries by modern discoveries. In the face of Renan's contented agnosticism he takes occasion to suggest that Socrates held the same attitude toward physical science as is now maintained toward supernaturalism, so called, because of "the arbitrariness of the explanations and the inaccessibility of the phenomena." He reminds us repeatedly that no proper examination of certain phenomena, alleged through all time and among all races, has been made, and among these he classes the Resurrection, and in all respects he writes like a member, if not an evangelist, of the Society for Psychical Research. Certainly he seems to anticipate by such research some enlightenment in regard to the points at which the unseen world impinges on the seen, and the modes of facilitating intercourse between the two. These propositions are urged with such sincerity, such high and earnest feeling, and are so enforced by rich, if not eloquent, language, by effective quotation and skilful allusion, that one must possess a heart very insensible to the plausibilities of rhetoric not to wish the author God-speed should he ever thus find "that true interrogation which is the half of science."

Other portions of these essays, if less unusual, seem to us more valuable. The passages in which, commenting on the author of "Natural Religion," Mr. Myers insists on the equality in worth of all high emotion felt toward an ideal, as well through art or poetry or landscape as through the more distinctive media of religious feeling; and the essay on Rossetti, in which this part of his creed is most effectively stated—are powerfully and suggestively done. His denial of the worship of Victor Hugo is just such a delightful blending of the serious and the droll as a modern "Get thee behind me, Satan," should be. But in singling out the best for praise, that for which the volumes are worth possessing, there can be no hesitation—it is the paper on Virgil. Many a vapid translation in late days had almost convinced us that the knowledge of Virgil was gone; but here is a writer, deeply versed in the classics, and untrifled by the Germans, who has the skill and boldness to make Dante's Guide credible by criticism. It is an admirable essay, at once learned, temperate, and almost affectionate in its sympathy, while it is no less marked by historical grasp than by poetic sensitiveness.

Heroes of Literature: English Poets. A Book for Young Readers. By John Dennis. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co. 1883.

This title is merely a catchword (the book is one of a series), and misleading. The volume it labels does not contain an account of those poets only whose lives were heroic, nor is it written, as one would suppose, in a vein to interest the young imagination. The "heroes" are all the notable authors in English poetry since Chaucer, irrespective of their moral character or the splendor or romance of their career. Seventy-nine of these worthies are mentioned, and of most of them brief biographies are given, in chronological order, together with some sound criticism, and especially some advice in regard to which of their poems are interesting and profitable to the youthful reader. The author does not claim any originality. The facts and opinions he has taken from the best literary specialists; the advice is conventional, and somewhat more marked than is usual by that consideration of what is "proper" for English boys and girls to think and know which seems to dominate their early education. Thus, in allowing that Burns's song, "A man's man for a' that," contains a highly admirable sentiment, Mr. Dennis carefully tells his supposed childish audience that "the distinctions of rank and wealth are necessary to the healthy growth of a state, and that, if it were possible to place all men on a level, some of the fairest and noblest

virtues of the race would disappear." But he naively adds: "This was not evident to Burns." In such solicitude for the respect to be paid by well-bred youth to "his lordship," and in the surely inaccurate statement that Shakspere's dramas are not found in the hands of English laborers and artisans, there is the suggestion of a social bias, as there is a hint of limited appreciativeness in the fact that the only full quotations are from Cowper and Thomson; while the quiet assumption that only those children who are in the English Church will be interested in literature, strikes an American, and we should think would strike a Nonconformist at home, as inexpressibly comical. Such things as these, however, are only curious. The cheapness and information of the manual are not marred by its high and somewhat dusty respectability; it will be serviceable enough to pupils already engaged in the study, but it is not likely of itself to awaken a lively interest in literature in the ordinary American boy.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Belot, A. *Fedora*; or, *The Tragedy in the Rue de la Paix*. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. \$1. Beyond the Sunrise. Observations of Two Travellers. John W. Lovell Co. 20 cents.

Blackie, R. S. *The Wisdom of Goethe*. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

Brehat, A. de. *The Black Sorceress: a Tale of the Peasants'* War. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. \$1.

Briggs, Prof. C. A. Biblical Study: Its Principles, Methods, and History. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

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